

seems to me, for the creation of a Department of Labor with a secretary having a seat in the Cabinet, with all the rights and powers conferred by this bill. It will bring labor and capital closer together, and one is dependent on the other. They should be friends—not enemies—and walk hand in hand in the march along the paths of mutual prosperity, and a more equitable distribution of the fruits of toil. This bill, if it becomes a law, will go far to prevent labor troubles in the future, do much to solve existing labor problems, and every friend of industrial peace should aid in its enactment. The employers of labor, as well as the employees themselves, whether they belong to trades unions or not, are all, as far as I have been able to ascertain, in accord with the principles of this progressive legislation and heartily favor its passage to the Statute books."

THE 8-HOUR WORK-DAY.

From Speech of Gov. Sulzer Before the
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen,
Detroit, June 2, 1916.
(Reprinted from Detroit Journal, June 3,
1916.)

"I want to say that I am a friend of the wage-earner. I want to see, and I hope the day is not far distant when we all shall see the eight-hour work-day the law all over the land and rigidly enforced in every State, every city, every town, and every village in the country. I believe it will be beneficial to the laborer, advantageous to the community in which he lives, and for the best interests of the Government. Too long hours make the wage-earner a poor workman. Shorter

hours, in my opinion, will produce better results all around and for all concerned. Every writer on political economy confirms this conclusion, and I assert as a fundamental principle that any scheme for the amelioration of the social condition of the wage-earner which does not proceed on this proposition as its foundation is for all permanent purposes a delusion and a snare.

"I am now, always have been, and always will be an advocate of shorter hours for a legal work-day. The history of the past teaches us that every reduction in the hours constituting a day's work has resulted beneficially. We have gone on steadily, step by step, shortening the hours of labor from sixteen hours to fourteen hours a day, from fourteen hours to twelve hours a day, from twelve to ten hours, and in every instance it has been for the better. Statistics conclusively prove that every decrease in the hours constituting a legal work-day has been for the advancement of the toiler and the progress of the masses.

"These reductions in the hours of labor have decreased intemperance, increased knowledge, made better homes, happier and better-clothed wives and children, brighter and more prosperous firesides, and in every way benefited the social relations, promoted happiness and contentment, and improved the moral, economical, and financial condition of the laboring people of our land."

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HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The Tenth Congressional District has never been so well represented in Congress as it is at the present time. Congressman Sulzer, who has the honor of again being chosen by his constituents to lead the Democracy to victory, is too well known to cause any doubt about his return to the House of Representatives. Mr. Sulzer is a man who "does things." He has championed the cause of the laboring class when others who were looked to to do so failed, and by his commanding presence in the halls of Congress he has achieved success many times in spite of a hostile majority. Such a man should be placed in a higher position, and if, perchance, it may fall to the Democracy to choose a Senator to represent us in the nation's capital no better choice could be made. At one time Mr. Sulzer was spoken of as a candidate to run for Governor of this State, but his usefulness as a Congressman is too much to spare him at the present time. The letter carriers, irrespective of their party loyalty, all flock to his standard, for there is no man in Congress who is known to be a better friend of these hard working Government employes. The district he represents is a very cosmopolitan one, and Mr. Sulzer has often been the means of untangling some knotty points in which some of his large constituency were interested. That he will win his way back to the halls of Congress is a foregone conclusion, and it only remains to be seen by what a large vote he will lead the Democracy of his district. Many instances could be cited of the good he has done, but space will not permit us to detail them, as they would be hard to enumerate.

Up to the Democrats.

Hartford Reporter - September 3rd, 1908

THE die is cast! The edict has gone forth. The Big Noise of Oyster Bay has made known his wishes to the walnut and peanut politicians of the Republican party of the State of New York, and as a result the name of Charles E. Hughes will go before the next Republican convention at Saratoga as that party's choice for governor of the State. True, Tiny Tim has buried defiance at his Big Chief, and added more war paint to his waistcoat, but his opposition is as harmless as it is weak. It was rather a novel sight to see the President of this country dictating not only the candidate but the platform as well to the national party of which he is a member but for Teddy to interfere in State, county and ward politics is no new thing. Two years ago, in opposition to the State party leaders, he dictated the nomination of Hughes, and the fact that the latter won out was evidently, to his own mind, a vindication of his judgment. This year he seems to think that Hughes will not only carry the State, but help the Presidential ticket as well. Two years ago the Democratic party was unfortunate enough to put forward a candidate who was distrusted not only by the rank and file of Democracy, but by the independent voters as well. As a result their candidate for gubernatorial honors was overwhelmingly defeated, and the rest of their state ticket elected, thus proving to the political student that it was the candidate of the Democratic party who elected the candidate of the Republican party. Two years ago Governor Hughes was fresh from his insurance probe triumph, and a great many people believed that in him had been found a man of the people, a man who owed no allegiance to the bosses, who feared not the moneyed interests of the State, and who would act in all matters of legislation according to a judgment that was sound. During his two years as chief executive of the greatest State of the Union, the Governor has proven his incompetence as has none of his predecessors. Hardly one piece of good legislation can be found on the credit side of his ledger, and in matters of moment to the people and those whose interests have been inimical to the best interests of the State, he has invariably been found on the side of the latter. We do not for a moment question the honesty of the Governor, but honesty without ability is as unsafe as ability without honesty. Say what one will about the methods of Woodruff, Odeil and Barnes, they are astute politicians, have for years made the State of New York their political battleground and know the wants of the voters. They resent the interference of the President in the present political situation, they resent the action of Hughes in belittling their party by posing as its representative, and it is without doubt their intention to teach them both a lesson that will be remembered for some time to come. So it is up to the Democratic party to put forward their best man—a conservative, but not ultra so; a man who is at once a leader and a follower of the people, diplomatic enough to make friends with the legislative members of the opposition party and strong enough to command the respect and co-operation of those of his own. Such a man is Congressman William Sulzer. Strong, virile, and morally and politically as "clean as a hound's tooth," his candidacy would unite the entire Democracy of the State and bring to its standard the large independent vote that did so much to elect the present Governor two years ago. Labor would vote for him to a man, for in him they recognize one who has always been their friend without appealing to their passions; who has never been afraid to tell them when he thought them wrong, and who has fought for them tooth and nail when he felt their cause just. He has served the party long and faithfully, with never a shady or crooked act to mar the brilliancy of a career that has been equaled by few and surpassed by none.

C O P Y .

December 22, 1914.

Hon. V. G. Hinshaw,
Chariman National Prohibition Party,
106 North La Salle St.,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Hinshaw:

Your personal appeal to me urging that I make another speaking tour throughout New York, for Prohibition, has been carefully considered.

In reply let me say that my earnest wish is to work with you - because of my confidence in you - and my desire to do what I can for our common humanity; but your offer to pay me so much a month for these speeches does not attract me - especially in view of the fact that as a rule I do not charge for this kind of work, and besides if I wanted to make money by public speaking I have before me several offers from Chautauquas that will pay me much more a week than you offer me a month.

The truth of the matter, however, is that I am not in the fight for Prohibition for what I can make out of it - or get out of it - but to push the Cause to a speedy consummation, and live to witness its triumph for the good of the Common Weal.

Let me repeat, what I told you when you were here, that I am of the conviction that we shall accomplish little, at this time, by making a speaking trip through the State of New York. I know the State like a book. I am in touch with the people. They are friendly to me. The recent elections proved that, and you know if I had not been counted out of the Progressive nomination, last Fall, I would have been re-elected Governor. There is not a politician in the State who does not admit it. The reason I was not re-elected was because the average voter believed that after I was defrauded of the Progressive nomination I could not win, and feeling thus, to make Glynn's defeat sure and overwhelming these good citizens voted for Whitman.

During the recent campaign I spoke in every County in the State. They say I made 479 speeches, and spoke to over 700,000 people. I polled more than 127,000 votes for the Cause - running on a straight Prohibition Platform - five times more votes than any other candidate ever polled, so far as I know, in the history of the State. The reason I am telling you this is because I think it would be a mistake to make another campaign trip now through the State. It is too early. Let us await 1916. That will be the best time. We must give the people a chance to think things over and get the perspective.

This is the time it seems to me for us to make a campaign through the Western and Pacific Coast States. Next Summer we should tour the Cornland States. Next Fall we should devote to the New England States. In this way we can tour the country next year systematically.

Before this is done, however, I am convinced that the first thing we must do, to lay the foundation for success, is to unite the Reform Forces of America along the lines I discussed at the Utica Conference. If we do this I know we can put behind the movement the energies that will win in 1916 - and why wait for 1920?

We must be practical. Before anything can be done to get results we must be united; we must be cohesive; and we must be harmonious. After this we can adopt plans for speech-making trips; for organization; and for the enrollment of voters in every State of the Union.

You saw the enthusiasm which greeted my plan at Utica. That was a critical audience and good test. Since then I have received many letters in favor of its accomplishment. I know it will succeed. There is no doubt about it. All we have to do is to unite and go ahead. If we fail we cannot expect followers. We must lead. We must be audacious. We cannot convince others unless we are convinced.

Do not forget what I told you that in my opinion the next Presidential election is going to be close. No doubt Wilson will be re-nominated. Who the Republican candidate will be I knew not - but it is immaterial. My prediction stands. Then again it appears from the returns that the next House of Representatives is a tie on President - for the second time in our history. The Constitution you remember provides that where neither candidate for President receives a majority of the votes of the electoral college the House of Representatives shall then choose the President from the three leading candidates - each State casting one vote. If we can unite, organize, and carry a few electoral votes in some of the States favorable to our Cause - and it can be done - we will throw the election of the next President into the House - and our candidate will stand a good chance to win when the deadlock is broken - and then we will inaugurate a Prohi President on March 4, 1917. Think of it! But even if we cannot do this I am convinced that we can poll more than three millions of votes - and that will effect the Cause - and the Country will be Bone Dry ere 1920.

To this end I again advise that we call a meeting, to be held in New York City, the first of the year, of say half dozen of the leading Prohibitionists; a like number of Prominent Americans; and a similar number of Genuine Progressives. When they agree, a small committee, say of three, should go to Washington, and talk matters over with our friends in Congress - to get their co-operation. Then we should call a larger conference to meet in Chicago, in March, of say one representative of all the Reform Parties to represent each State, and when they agree, they should issue a statement to the people of the Country telling them what we have done, and what we are going to do. Then we should issue a call to be signed by a thousand of the leading Men and women in America, for a National Conference, to be held in the Middle West some time next Summer. These are the first steps essential to success in 1916.

Just so soon as the address is issued, after the conference in Chicago, we can put behind the movement vital forces that spell victory. We can also get the money we need for legitimate propaganda and effective organization. I can guarantee this.

They say I have had some experience in this kind of work. At all events I know how to do things. The plan I have herein briefly outlined will succeed. Any other plan - and I have considered them all - will be a failure - a mere repetition of the past - and the record of the past tells us that divided we lose and united we win. Hence we must unite. Every man with whom I have talked sees it as clearly as he sees the nose on his face. In view of this why delay? Let us get together now - and move forward to victory.

The Flying Squadrons you speak about will be all right later on, but until we adopt a plan like I suggest they will do no permanent good. Lecture trips will now be futile. Speech making at present will have no lasting effect - unless behind every effort of this kind we lay the foundation for a permanent organization that will grow, as the months come and go, in influence and numbers, until these organizations have enough enrolled members to control elections.

What I suggest can be done with a modicum of money, but with much personal sacrifice on the part of a few of our leaders. If you say go ahead I am willing to put in two years at this work, at my own expense, but those who want to win must stick to us, stand fast for our plans, and back us to the end of the Road. If there is anyone better qualified to do it, or more capable of succeeding, I urge that he be selected to lead. As I told you I am for this man. I do not want to carry the banner. I have no vanity in the matter. I have had all the glory I want. I will follow where anyone will lead; and I will lead where anyone will follow. I want to win - that's all. I know the only way to win is along the lines herein indicated. The failures of fifty years tell us this. The history of the success of every great movement demonstrates it. Do you want to win, or do you want to go on floundering in the slough of defeat? Now is the time to decide. Next Summer it will be too late. Next Winter it will be useless. Do not forget 1916 will soon be here.

In conclusion let me reiterate, what I told you in my office, that when we shall lay deep and secure the plans and the foundations for the futuro what we purpose can be accomplished. The acid test has been put on this proposition. It assays success. There is no such word as fail in its dictionary. I want you to do your part in this Great Work. I shall do mine in the coming years as I have done it in the past. Our watchwords must be: Let us unite. Let us move forward. Let us have courage. Onward and upward for Victory!

Very sincerely yours,

WM. SUZZER.

(NOT TO BE PUBLISHED UNTIL DELIVERED
THE AFTERNOON OF JANUARY 1, 1913.)

Inaugural Address

Delivered by Governor Sulzer, in the Assembly
Chamber, Albany, N. Y., at noon, Jan. 1, 1913

"Fellow Citizens:—I realize to the fullest extent the solemnity of the obligation I have just taken as the Governor of New York. Conscious of my own limitations I keenly appreciate the responsibilities it entails.

"Grateful to the people who have honored me with their suffrages, I enter upon the performance of the duties of the office without a promise, except my pledge to all the people to serve them faithfully and honestly and to the best of my ability. I am free, without entanglements, and shall remain free. No influence controls me but the dictates of my conscience and my determination to do my duty, day in and day out, as I see the right, regardless of consequences. In the future, as in the past, I will walk the street called straight, and without fear and without favor I shall execute the laws justly and impartially—with malice toward none.

"Those who know me best know that I stand firmly for certain fundamental principles—for freedom of speech; for the right of lawful assembly; for the freedom of the press; for liberty under law; for civil and religious freedom; for constitutional government; for

equality and justice to all; for home rule, and the reserved rights of the State; for equal rights to every one, and special privileges to no one; and for unshackled opportunity as the beacon light of individual hope and the best guarantee for the perpetuity of our free institutions.

"New York is the greatest State in the Union. It should always stand as an exemplar of economical and efficient and progressive administration. As its Governor I shall, in so far as I can, give the people of the State, an honest, an efficient, an economical and a business-like administration of public affairs. I say business-like advisedly, because I assure the business men in every part of our State that they can rely on me at all times to do my utmost to promote the commercial interests of our commonwealth. I realize how important they are, and shall always be exceedingly careful to take no step that will jeopardize the financial and the commercial supremacy of the first State in the Republic.

"Suffice it to say that I am a friend of every business, whether big or little, so long as it is legitimate, and will always have its welfare in view in the administration of State affairs. To this end I shall work unceasingly for quicker and better transportation agencies, and for improved and larger terminal facilities, in order that New York shall continue to receive her just share of the trade and the commerce of the country.

"It is my purpose to be the Governor of all the people, and, in so far as possible, to follow in the footsteps of Silas Wright in the honesty and the simplicity of my ad-

ministration; and to the best of my ability try to emulate the example of Samuel J. Tilden in my efforts for progressive reforms along constructive and constitutional lines.

"Let me ask all to be patient and charitable. To avoid mistakes I must go slow. It is better to be slow than to be sorry.

"I know that I am human, and that I shall make mistakes in human ways. Being human I believe in the welfare of my fellow man, and whatever concerns the good of humanity appeals to me, and will ever have my constant care and earnest consideration.

"Whatever I do as Governor will always be open to all and above board. I shall confide in the people, and I indulge the hope that when my official term, this day begun, comes to an end, that I shall have accomplished something to merit their approval, and to justify the confidence they have reposed in my intentions. Hence I shall promise little, but work unceasingly to secure the things now demanded by the people. They know an ounce of performance is worth a ton of promise, and they will judge my administration not by what I say now but what I do hereafter.

"The hour has struck, and the task of administrative reform is mine. The cause is the cause of the State, and is worthy of the zealous efforts of any man. I grasp the opportunity the people now give me, and am resolved to shirk no responsibility; to work for the welfare of the people; to correct every existing abuse; to

abolish useless offices, and wherever possible consolidate bureaus and commissions to secure greater economy and more efficiency; to uproot official corruption and to raise higher the standard of official integrity; to simplify the methods of orderly administration; to advance the prosperity of all the people; to be ever dissatisfied with conditions that can be improved; to promote the common weal; to guard the honor, and protect the rights of the Empire State; and last but not least to reduce governmental expenditures to the minimum, and thus lessen as much as possible the heavy burdens of taxation."



STATE OF NEW YORK
SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE
ALBANY

October 30, 1916.

Hon. William Sulzer,
115 Broadway
New York City.

My dear Sir:-

I am writing you in the interest of the candidacy of Francis M. Hugo for re-election as Secretary of State. As you are aware, I am connected with Mr. Hugo as First Deputy Secretary of State. He is anxious to be re-elected to this office. I am enclosing a few of his cards showing the marking of his position on the ballot in group 3.

As a personal friend of yours, I would consider it a great favor if you would do all you could to assist in his re-election.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

AB Parker

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY

July 28th, 1913.

Hon. Thomas Carmody,
Attorney-General,
Capitol, Albany, N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

I respectfully request that you furnish me with a formal opinion, in writing, as to whether or not the extraordinary session of the present legislature which convened on June 16th, 1913, has or has not adjourned sine die, and ceased to exist as a legislative body in session, and can lawfully meet and transact legislative business on August 11th, 1913.

The facts are as follows:

On May 8th, 1913, I issued a proclamation in due form, convening the legislature in extraordinary session, and on June 16, 1913, pursuant to such proclamation, the extraordinary session convened.

On July 23rd, 1913, the legislature held a session at which I am creditably informed there were present but seventeen senators and thirty-seven assemblymen, less than a quorum or majority in either house. On that date, and at that session, the official journals of the houses purport to show that a concurrent resolution was adopted in the following language:

"WHEREAS, the legislative committee heretofore appointed to examine into the methods of the financial administration and conduct of state institutions, and other matters, has presented a report requesting further time in which to continue its investigations and to frame and make its report, and

"WHEREAS, there is now pending before this legislature certain bills relating to the selection of a prison site and other proposed legislation which demand the further consideration of the committee to which such legislation was respectfully referred, and

WHEREAS, it is the sense of this Senate that such further time for such purpose is required,

"RESOLVED, (if the Assembly concur) that when the legislature adjourn this day it be to meet again on Monday, August 11th, 1913, at 8:30 p. m."

The original journals of the respective houses for the session on July 23rd, 1913, respectively show that twenty-eight senators were present and voted; and that ninety-eight assemblymen were present and voted - notwithstanding the fact that there were only seventeen senators present and thirty-seven assemblymen present.

The Constitution, Article III, section 10 provides that

"A majority of each house shall constitute a ~~quorum~~ quorum to do business."

Article III, Section 11 of the Constitution provides:

"Neither house shall, without the consent of the other adjourn for more than two days."

The motion to adjourn to a definite day is amendable, debatable and open to reconsideration. Consequently, is not the consideration and passage of such a resolution, the performance of legislative business within Article III of section 10 of the State Constitution?

Is it not settled by the rulew of the Senate and Assembly and by legislative precedent, that the quorum prescribed by Article III, section 10 of the State Constitution requires the physical presence of a majority of the members elected to each house, to be actually present in order to transact legislative business?

Is not such an attempted legislative recess, or purported adjournment to a day certain, a dissolution of the present extraordinary session of the legislature, which in law and in fact, and in effect, amounts to a dissolution of the present extraordinary session, as it is not in accordance with the constitutional provision?

Can the present extraordinary session, under the existing circumstances, as a matter of law, in your opinion, rightfully reconvene on August 11th, 1913, and transact any further legislative business?

Under the existing circumstances, can the present duly elected members of the respective branches of the legislature right-fully, and pursuant to the constitution and the laws, reconvene as a legislative body unless the Governor issue a further proclamation under Article IV of section 4 of the State Constitution, calling for a further and second extraordinary session of this Legislature?

Your early attention to this matter is respectfully requested.

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

WM. SULZER.

REMARKS IN PART OF CONGRESSMAN WM. SULZER, AT THE NEW MASONIC TEMPLE, CORNER LAFAYETTE AND CLERMONT AVENUES, BROOKLYN, SUNDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 28th, 1909, AT 3 O'CLOCK, ON THE SUBJECT:

"DO TARIFF TAXES BENEFIT THE WAGE-EARNERS?"

THE MEETING WAS HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF REV. MADISON C. PETERS.

MR SULZER SAID IN PART:

"The Republicans contend, when we demand an equitable revision of unjust tariff taxes, that they are necessary in the interest of labor; that this exorbitant protection is for the benefit of the wage-earner; but every intelligent man in the country knows the absurdity of the proposition.

"Labor comes in free from every country on earth except China and Japan, and successfully competes here with the skilled labor of the world. Labor receives no real protection. Tariff taxation has nothing to do with the price of labor. Capital is not charitable. Capital is selfish. Capital buys labor, like everything else, as cheaply as it can.

"Wages are regulated by the inexorable law of supply and demand. Whenever you find two employers looking for one workman, wages will be high, and whenever you find two workmen looking for one employer, wages will be low. When the demand is greater than the supply wages go up, and when the supply is greater than the demand wages go down. Tariff taxes have little or nothing to do with the price of labor. In all prosperous communities labor is sought and not turned aside.

"Let me say again, that I am now, always have been, and always will be, the friend of the American wage-earner; my record for fifteen years in Congress testifies to the fact. The American wage-earner is the greatest producer of real wealth in all

our country. He is the best artisan and the best mechanic on earth. Of course, he gets more wages than the foreign workman. And he should, because he can do more work and better work, and in less time than the foreigner, and it costs the American workman at least twice as much to live here as it does the foreign workman to live in other countries.

"On an average during the past ten years the cost of living in the United States has increased 49 per cent, and wages have remained, with few exceptions, about the same. The American wage-earner pays from twice to twenty times more for the necessities of life than the foreign wage-earner. In the end he can not save much. If the American wage-earner is a little better off than the foreign wage-earner he has no one to thank but himself, no agency to praise but his own ability.

"Let the wage-earners of the land who earn their bread in the sweat of their face ponder on these facts. They cannot be successfully controverted. They are as true as the Polar Star and as fixed as the granite hills. The Republican doctrine that protection to American industries benefits the wage-earner, is all moonshine. If that were its object, the selfish beneficiaries of protection would whistle it down the wind, and as a political policy it would be abandoned and soon disappear forever.

"I assert without fear of successful contradiction, that the Payne-Aldrich Law will grant no relief to the overburdened wage-earners of the country - and no hope to the oppressed consumers of the land. It is the highest tax measure on the necessities of life ever enacted into law by Congress.

"In my judgment, one of the most important questions before the American people is honest tariff reform along the lines of a material reduction of the taxes on the necessities of life, in order to cheapen the cost of living, and to make wealth as well

as toil pay its just share of the burdens of government. I am in favor of a fair, a just, and an equitable revenue system that will support the Government wisely and economically administered, with equal justice to all and favoritism to none, having a jealous care for our farmers and our toilers and our wage-earners. I believe in taxing the luxuries of life and exempting the necessities of life in so far as possible; and to this end I favor the Constitutional amendment for a graduated income tax.

"I would tax wealth more and toil less. I would reduce the tariff taxes on all goods, wares and merchandise manufactured in this country and sold cheaper abroad than at home. I would revise the Payne-Aldrich tariff schedules in a business way in the interests of all the people.

"I am opposed to unjust tariff taxes that burden beyond the calculation of the finite mind the wage earners of our country. They must cease. Wealth as well as brawn must be taxed, and pay its just share of the burdens of the Government. I am in favor of true reform in tariff taxation - a revision that will do substantial justice to all interests concerned, and not rob the many for the benefit of the few, and saddle all the burdens of the Government on the poor man's back.

"The selfishness of the beneficiaries of the protected industries of the country who have waxed fat during the past quarter of a century through the unjust discrimination of Republican tariff policies was never better illustrated than in the Payne-Aldrich law. Reading that law in the light of these unjust actions one is forcibly reminded of Goldsmith's line - "laws grind the poor and rich men rule the law."

"For more than ten years the increasing cost of living mounting higher and higher each succeeding year, has been the most immediate, the most pressing, and the most universally observed

fact about economic conditions in this country. During all this period, while the cost of the necessities of life has been growing more and more oppressive, the promise has been held out by the Republicans that when the country got around to tariff revision something would be done to remedy these conditions. And what is the result? The mockery of the Payne-Aldrich law - to make matters worse instead of better.

"The people are tired of being humbugged. They have lost confidence in the willingness of invested capital to divide up on an equitable basis with labor. Sad experience has taught them better. The tremendous development of the great trusts; the annual multiplication of multimillionaires; the heaping up of what Mr. Roosevelt so aptly called "swollen fortunes"; the systematic overcapitalization of all kinds of enterprises; the consolidation of management and the centralization of ownership; the advancing of prices - in too many cases out of reason - of the necessities of life - all these things have caused a widespread distrust of the long heralded philanthropic spirit of the beneficiaries of protection."

SPEECH **OF** **WM. SULZER**

Democratic Candidate for Governor

At Dinner given in his honor by the New York Press Club

Tuesday Night, October 15th, 1912

Mr. Sulzer spoke as follows:

"My friends—and I say 'my friends' advisedly, because all assembled here are true friends of mine, and many of you life-long friends—the best friends I have in all this world.

"As you know, I am one of the oldest living members of the New York Press Club, and so I say to each and every one of you, my friends, I am grateful for the honor you do me to-night and for the genuine friendships I have made during my long membership in this splendid association of sterling newspaper men.

"A true friend, they say, is one who knows all about you and loves you just the same. Those are the kind of friends who compose the membership of this famous club.

"The wisest of the ancients declared that a man was rich beyond the dreams of avarice if he could count, in fortune and in misfortune, his true friends on the fingers of one hand. You are my friends, for I have tested your friendship in sunshine and in storm. Had I the fingers of an hundred men I know I could not count on them the friends I have among the men who wield the pen. According, then, to the wisdom of the philosopher, I am, indeed, rich—if not exactly rich in dollars—yet in something better—something dollars cannot buy—true, real, sincere friends.

"To my friends—to those who really know me—my life is a simple one, an earnest one, and an open book. I believe the secret of all success is hard work, loyalty to friends, and fidelity to principle.

"I have found that the best way to be happy is to make others happy. In a few words, to be unselfish, to be liberal in your views, to have few prejudices, and those only against wrongs to be remedied. To be kind, to be true, to be honest, to be just, to be considerate, to be tolerant, to be generous, to be forgiving, to be charitable, and to love your neighbor as yourself. To adhere tenaciously to fundamental principles for good and for righteousness. To help others, to do what you can day in and day out, to make the hearthside happier; and to do your part faithfully, regardless of reward, for the better day and the coming of the grander civilization.

Administration Will Be Economical and Businesslike.

"If elected Governor I shall, to the best of my ability, endeavor to give the people of the State an honest, an economical and a business-like administration of public affairs. I say business-like advisedly, because I assure the business men in every part of our State that they can rely on me to do all in my power to promote the business and the commercial interests of our commonwealth. I realize how important they are and shall ever be exceedingly careful to take no step to jeopardize the financial and the commercial supremacy of the first State in the Union.

"Although I am a friend of the poor, I have no prejudice against honest wealth. I want to safeguard every legitimate business, whether big or little, and will always have its welfare in view in the administration of State affairs. To this end I shall work unceasingly for quicker and better transportation agencies, and for improved and larger terminal facilities, in order that New York shall continue to receive her just share of the trade and commerce of our country.

"I have been in public life for nearly a quarter of a century, practically half my life, and during all that time my closest friends and most intimate associates have been newspaper men. I owe much to them, and I am glad to acknowledge the lasting obligations I owe the generous press of my State and my country.

In Favor of a Free Press.

"This is a fitting time, it seems to me, to say that if I am elected Governor of New York, I shall do all in my power for the rights

and the liberties of a free press—without which I am confident our free institutions cannot survive.

"It is, of course, very gratifying to me to have, in this struggle, for the Governorship, such generous support of the newspapers of my State. I appreciate it from the bottom of my heart, and in the future as in the past I shall strive to do all in my power to deserve their esteem and their commendation. I want every newspaper man in all our great State to feel that I am his friend; that I am merely a servant of the people; that all I ask is justice and fair treatment; and that I dread praise more than I do blame. With me public office is a public trust, and I believe every public officer should be held strictly accountable for his official acts.

"If I am elected Governor, I shall be the Governor of all the people—free, unshackled, and independent—and I indulge the hope that I shall be able to rely at all times on the help of the newspapers of our State to aid me in promoting the general welfare.

"No one in public life knows the power of the newspapers, both small and great, better than I do. They are the avenues of information, the agencies of intelligence, and they do more than all other things combined to promote the social, the religious, the educational, and the industrial progress of the people.

Without a free press we could not have a free country. The fierce light of newspaper publicity beating on the evils of the times will dissipate them just as surely as the morning sun dissipates the mists of night.

Owes All to Good Mother and Honest Father.

"They say I am a commoner. I am proud of that and I hope I have justly earned the title. I want no greater honor. I was a poor country boy. I come from the farm and from humble surroundings. All that I am and all that I hope to be I owe to a good mother and an honest father. I have toiled up step by step from the bottom, from poverty and obscurity, and my career illustrates again the hope of the Republic, and demonstrates anew that the door of opportunity is still open to the poorest boy in all our land. This my answer to the challenge of the pessimist.

"The people know me and they know what I have done. My record of five years at Albany, and eighteen years in Washington speaks for itself, and in this hour of trial appeals to the people, better than promises now, in my behalf. The people know I can be trusted. They have seldom been deceived by one of their own.

"If I go to Albany I shall try to follow in the footsteps of Silas Wright in the honesty and simplicity of genuine Democratic administration, and endeavor to emulate the example of Samuel J. Tilden for progressive reforms along constructive and constitutional lines.

"You gentlemen of the New York newspapers know that my nomination for Governor came to me because for long years I worked for my party, and through my own exertions I earned the good will of the Democrats of my State by deeds done and works accomplished. I am the candidate of a united party and a free convention. I went to the Syracuse convention not as a candidate, but to fight for a principle—the principle of an open convention, a fair field and no favor.

Will Go into Office Unfettered and Will Remain Free.

"I will go into office, if elected, without a promise except my promise to all the people to serve them faithfully and honestly and to the best of my ability. I am free, without entanglements, and shall remain free. I have no boss. If elected I shall follow the street called straight, and the Executive Office will be in the Capitol. When I take the oath of Governor I shall enforce the laws fearlessly and impartially, with malice toward none.

"Those who know me best know that I stand firmly for certain fundamental principles—for liberty under law, for civil and religious freedom; for constitutional government; for the old integrities, and the new humanities; for equality before the law; for equal rights to all and special privileges to none; for the cause that lacks assistance, against the wrongs that need resistance; and for unshackled opportunity as the beacon light of individual hope and the best guarantee for the perpetuity of our free institutions.

"And now, my friends, let me reiterate what I have often said before—I am a Democrat, unafraid, free, progressive and independent; I have the courage of my convictions. No influence controls me but the influence of my conscience to do my full duty to all the people as the God of our fathers gives me the light."

Certificate of Incorporation of the American Party, Inc.

State of New York, }
City of New York, } ss.:
County of New York. }

We, the undersigned, of full age, being desirous of associating ourselves together for political purposes, as hereinafter more particularly described, in pursuant to, and in conformity with, the Acts of the Legislature of the State of New York, relating to Membership Corporations, do hereby certify and declare that we are all of full age; all of us are citizens of the United States; and all of us are residents and electors of the State of New York.

We do further certify and declare as follows:

FIRST. That the particular objects for which said Corporation is formed, are as follows, viz: To secure electoral reforms; progressive legislation; and greater constitutional guarantees; to prevent corrupt practices; to conserve and utilize, for the benefit of all, our natural resources; to allay strife and harmonize differences between capital and labor; to aid the cause of honest government; to destroy corrupt bossism in the control of political parties; to establish justice; to preserve liberty; to bring about greater economic freedom; to promote the general welfare; to perpetuate forever the free institutions of the United States of America; to insist on equal rights to all and special privileges to none, to the end that government in America shall be of the people, and by the people, and for the people; and to further these accomplishments we desire to unite in a common movement all honest men and women of similar views and willing to further the cause, together with societies and associations organized for like purposes, and to establish branches throughout the State of New York and the United States of America.

SECOND: That the corporate name by which said Corporation hereby formed shall be known and distinguished is AMERICAN PARTY, Inc.

THIRD: That the territory in which the operations of said Corporation are to be principally conducted is in the City of Albany, and other cities in the State of New York, and United States of America.

FOURTH: That the principal office of said Corporation shall be located in the City of New York, County of New York, and State of New York.

FIFTH: That the number of directors of said Corporation shall be nine.

SIXTH: That the names and places of residence of the persons to be directors of said Corporation until its first annual meeting are:

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Samuel Bell Thomas, | 418 West 118th Street, N. Y. City |
| Alexander S. Bacon, | 101 Rugby Rd, Boro of B'klyn, N. Y. City |
| Theodorus Van Wyck, | 402 West 56th Street, N. Y. City |
| Albert Bruchlos, | 162 East 7th Street, N. Y. City |
| Robert Abrahams, | 257 West 88th Street, N. Y. City |
| Samuel Friedman, | 122 West 114th Street, N. Y. City |
| Emil Kovarik, | 332 East 70th Street, N. Y. City |
| John W. Hughes, | 390 Wadsworth Avenue, N. Y. City |
| Vito Contessa, | 411 East 114th Street, N. Y. City |

SEVENTH: That the annual meeting of said Corporation shall be held on the first Tuesday of June in each and every year.

EIGHTH: That the emblem, or device, to represent and distinguish the said AMERICAN PARTY in all political matters, as required by law, shall be a picture, or facsimile, of the Liberty Bell.



IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, we have made and signed this certificate in duplicate, and have hereunto set our hands and affixed our respective seals this 9th day of April, one thousand nine hundred and fourteen.

Samuel Bell Thomas, L.S.
Alexander S. Bacon, L.S.
Theodorus Van Wyck, L.S.
Albert Bruchlos, L.S.
Robert Abrahams, L.S.
Samuel Friedman, L.S.
Emil Kovarik, L.S.
John W. Hughes, L.S.
Vito Contessa, L.S.

State of New York, }
City of New York, } ss.:
County of New York, }

I, Charles Podsenick, a Notary Public, duly commissioned and qualified, do hereby certify that on this 9th day of April, one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, personally appeared before me, Samuel Bell Thomas, Alexander S. Bacon, Theodorus Van Wyck, Robert Abrahams, Albert Bruchlos, Samuel Friedman, Emil Kovarik, John W. Hughes and Vito Contessa, to me severally known, and known to me, to be the individuals named in and who executed the foregoing certificate, and they thereupon severally acknowledged before me that they did execute the same for the purposes therein set forth.

CHARLES PODSENICK,

Notary Public, Kings County, No. 79.

Certificate filed in New York County, No. 11.

I, ALDEN CHESTER, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, do hereby approve the foregoing certificate of incorporation, and consent that the same be filed.

ALDEN CHESTER,

Justice Supreme Court.

Dated April 13, 1914.

State of New York, }
Office of the } ss.:
Secretary of State, }

I have compared the preceding with the original certificate of incorporation of AMERICAN PARTY, Inc., filed and recorded in this office on the 13th day of April, 1914, and I do hereby certify the same to be a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original.

WITNESS my hand and the seal of office
of the Secretary of State, at the City of Albany.
This 13th day of April, one thousand nine hundred and fourteen.

JOSE PIDGEON,

Second Deputy Secretary of State.

State of New York
★ [Seal] ★
Secretary of State



Albany, N. Y., June 9, 1913

The following have been received at the Executive Chamber regarding Governor Sulzer's direct primary campaign.

Hon. W. L. Gifford, Secretary of State of the State of Idaho, gives an interesting description of the trial of direct primary law of that State in 1910 and 1912.

"The first election held under the direct primary shows confusion, owing to the fact that the law provided for a first and second choice, where there were twice as many candidates as offices and our Supreme Court, in passing on this feature of the law, held that the second choice was mandatory. The voters, in order to protect their first choice, in thousands of instances, wrote in the name of their second choice, either the name of some real or fictitious person. As a result, the election returns were voluminous and it was thirty days before an accurate canvass could be made.

The next legislature amended this feature of the law and made the second choice optional, thus doing away with this objectionable feature. This law however was objectionable, inasmuch as it afforded an opportunity for the affiliates of one political party to vote for nominees on the opposing ticket. This was very evident from the election returns, but the legislature, which convened last winter passed an amendment to the Primary Law, providing that all persons, when registering, must express a party affiliation. I believe the law, under these amendments, will work out very well. It takes time to discover these defects but I believe the tendency is to make the law more practical and at any rate give the people as a whole an opportunity to nominate the candidates of their choice. Of course, there are certain abuses that it is very difficult to restrict, viz. slate making, etc., and the expenditures of money in excess of the amount stipulated by law.

However, it appears that the Direct Primary has come to stay and those who opposed it in the beginning, realizing this fact, are uniting their efforts with those who champion the law, to make it as practical as possible."

* * * * *

Hon. Harry Woods, Secretary of State of Illinois, declares emphatically that the direct primary law of that State gives the power to the voters to nominate candidates for office and not the politicians. He says:

"You will notice by the laws sent you that the Law applies to almost all elected officers in the state. The Law is appreciated by the people, but not so much by the politicians. The primary Law lets the voters nominate the candidates for the offices and not the politicians."

* * * * *

United States Senator Joseph E. Ransdell of Louisiana is of the opinion that the nominations for office, which are made in the primaries of that State make for the public good. He says:

"The nominations in Louisiana are made in primaries, and I am sure that such elections make for the public good."

Supreme Court Appellate Division
Second Judicial Department

Chambers of the Presiding Justice

Borough Hall, Brooklyn, N. Y.

September 27, 1916.

Howard R. Warner, Esq.,
Secretary, American Party,
Broadway Central Hotel,
No. 673 Broadway,
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Warner:-

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of September 22nd, 1916, informing me of my designation as candidate for Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, and of my nomination therefor in the primaries, by the American Party.

I thank you very much for the compliment.

I accept, and beg that you will extend to Governor Sulzer, and to the other gentlemen of your Committee, my appreciation.

I did not receive the letter of September 22nd until this day. This is the explanation of my delay in acknowledgment.

Very respectfully yours,

Alfred J. Jencks.

Supreme Court of the State of New York
Justice's Chambers
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

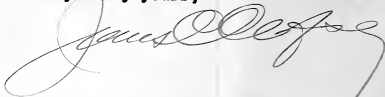
October 2nd, 1916.

Mr. H. R. Warner,
Sec'y, American Party,
573 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Warner:-

I have your letter of the 29th of last month, notifying me that at a regular meeting of the American Party I had been declared its candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court in the Second Judicial District. Please accept my thanks, and my appreciation of your statement that every effort will be made to roll up a big majority for me.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "James O. O'Connell", written in a cursive style. The signature is positioned below the typed name "Very truly yours," and extends across the lower right portion of the page.

Albany, July 7th, 1913.

Governor Sulzer has received the following communication :

STATE OF NEW YORK

COMMISSIONER OF HIGHWAYS

Albany, July 7th, 1913.

Hon. Wm. Sulzer,

Governor of the State of New York,

Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor:-

My attention has been called to an article on the editorial page of the Albany Evening Journal, which, among other things, states that the State Highway Department is proposing to use a patented material, handled by only one concern, and to award contracts without advertising for bids,

This article is so absolutely misleading and without foundation that it should not be permitted to pass without an answer.

So far as patented materials is concerned the statement is absolutely false in every respect. We have not decided to use any patented article, and intend to comply literally with the provisions of the Highway Law against their use except under circumstances which afford reasonable opportunity for competition. The article apparently referred to an order which was sent to the Comptroller for the purchase of a small quantity of Roslyn Grit to use in the Maintenance Department in repairing of state roads. This article is not a patented article, but is a by-product which could be bought very cheaply and which would result in a large saving to the state. No order for this material has been placed, and as long as any question is raised in relation to it, it probably will not be used.

So far as the statement in the article is concerned which states that we intend to award contracts without advertising for bids, the statement is also absolutely misleading in every respect.

Under the Highway Law, the Commissioner of Highways has the right to do repair work under his direction, and in order to to facilitate the repair of the roads we submitted to the Comptroller a proposition as to whether or not we could buy material to place on the roads instead of buying the material, as we have the right to do, and then employ labor, as we have the right to do, to place the material on the roads.

The Comptroller ruled that we could not buy the material on the roads, and as the law now provides that all matters amounting to more than \$1,000 must first be submitted to the Comptroller for approval, we have accepted this ruling and will now be obliged to advertise for bids for all class of maintenance work which we are not able to do under our own direction. This will greatly delay the repairing of the State roads, and I am trying now to organize forces under my personal control as the statutes provides to do work, but the main repair work of resurfacing and oiling will have to go by contract.

The falsity of the statement was the alleged proposition that we were going to award contracts without bids, which we never intended to do because even the matter which we submitted to the Comptroller was submitted in conjunction with propositions from

different contractors to do the work.

I can still thoroughly of the opinion that the legislature should pass the law which we requested, giving us the fight within ninety days from June 23d to make repair contracts without public letting upon procuring bids from three reputable bidders and having the contracts first submitted to the Comptroller for his approval. This will absolutely safeguard every interest of the State, and will result in accomplishing what the people are clamoring for: the prompt and speedy repair of their roads:

Yours very truly,

(Sd) J. W. Carlisle

Commissioner.

PROHIBITION NATIONAL COMMITTEE

VIRGIL G. HINSHAW, CHAIRMAN

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

VIRGIL G. HINSHAW
CHAIRMAN
W. G. CALDERWOOD
VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. FRANCES BEAUCHAMP
SECRETARY
H. P. FARIS
TREASURER

HEADQUARTERS

326 WEST MADISON STREET
CHICAGO

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CONTINUED

ROBERT H. PATTON
DANIEL A. POLINE
F. C. HENDRICKSON
E. L. G. HOENTHAL
FRANCIS E. BALDWIN

Feb. 28, 1918.

Hon. William Sulzer,
115 Broadway,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sulzer:--

Your letter at the hand of Mr. E. Carbonnel received, announcing your ability to attend the Convention because of illness.

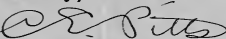
I am sending this letter in duplicate to your officemand to your home, on account of lack of time.

I trust Mr. Carbonnel who will doubtless receive the copy sent to your office, and you, will arrange between you to have a telegram of greeting sent to our convention signed by you, in which you state that you are unable to be at the convention as you are confined to your home with pleurisy and bronchitis so that it will be impossible for you to attend; in which you give cheery greetings to the convention, bid them Godspeed in their work, urge them to do all in their power to secure the amalgamation of the various reform organizations in a great drive to secure National Prohibition, National Woman Suffrage, Public Ownership of Public Utilities, together with other great reforms for which the Party stands.

If you want to, you might mention the battle for local democracy and worldwide democracy and also the fight for National and worldwide Prohibition.

I will see that your telegram is read to the convention. I can leave it to your good sense to send a good one. Do not "rub it in" by referring to the 1916 campaign. We want to get the good will of even those who did not support you.

Very sincerely,



National Headquarters Sec'y.

HEADQUARTERS

National Progressive Party

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

901-2-3-4-5 LEMCKE BUILDING

Sept. 26, 1916.

Campaign Committee

EDWIN M. LEE, Indiana, Chairman
Chairman Progressive State Committee

BAINBRIDGE COLBY, New York
Progressive Candidate U. S. Senate

H. H. GRIFFITH, Iowa
Treasurer Progressive State Committee

CLARENCE W. HALBERT, Minnesota
Chairman Progressive State Committee

FRANCIS J. HENEY, California
Progressive Candidate U. S. Senate

JOHN M. HALE, Oklahoma
Progressive State Chairman

CHARLES F. HOFFMAN, Michigan
Progressive National Committeeman

JUDGE BEN R. LINDSEY, Colorado

C. W. McCLURE, Georgia
Progressive Candidate U. S. Senate

J. M. McCORMICK, Texas
Progressive State Chairman

HAROLD A. MOISE, Louisiana
Official Representative Progressive State
Committee Indianapolis Conference

JUDGE A. D. NORTON, Missouri
Progressive Candidate U. S. Senate

GEORGE S. OBEAR, Alabama
Progressive State Chairman

L. H. TRIESCHMANN, Connecticut
Official Representative Progressive State
Committee Indianapolis Conference

IRVING E. VERNON, Maine
Progressive State Chairman

Ex Officio, MATTHEW HALE, Massachusetts
Acting National Chairman

J. A. H. HOPKINS, New Jersey
Treasurer

Hon. William Sulzer,
115 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Sulzer:-

I have noted carefully, your favor of the 19th and realize fully, the predicament you are in, especially in the doubtful states. As before suggested, we will be very glad to help you in this state in any manner that is possible.

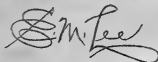
Conditions in Indiana are more chaotic than in any previous campaign. There are more doubtful and non-committal voters in the state than ever before, the number ranging from 15 to 150 to the precinct. With these men still to be convinced, the contest is very much undecided.

From surface indications, it looks very much as tho' Mr. Wilson will carry Indiana by a small majority, but as above indicated, there are great possibilities for either party.

As you no doubt know, the purpose of true blue Progressives is to keep our organization intact and poll as creditable a vote as possible. We cannot, at this time, say whether we will poll 10,000 or 50,000 votes in the state. Whatever our vote, it is our definite plan to confer soon after election, with forward looking men of other parties, such as yours, and the Prohibition, with a view to co-operation that may be effective.

Will be glad to take this subject up with you after election and in the meantime, glad to have any suggestions from you.

Sincerely yours,



Congressman William Sulzer

Democratic Candidate for Governor

AT THE MEETING TO RATIFY THE NATIONAL
AND STATE TICKETS,

Held in Tammany Hall

WEDNESDAY NIGHT, OCTOBER 16, 1912

Mr. Sulzer spoke as follows:

"My friends, primarily I am here to-night to speak for the next President of the United States—Woodrow Wilson.

A Democratic Year.

"I say the Democratic candidate will be the next President of our country—and I say it advisedly, because every indication from Maine to California demonstrates it, and no man with sense enough to distinguish the difference between a hawk and a hand-saw doubts it—unless he is a forlorn Mooseite—running wild through the wilderness of exaggerated ego, or groping around in the barren lands of accenuated personal pronouns.

"This is a Democratic year. The plain people of the country are now coming into their own. A new era has dawned. The Democratic party is waging the battle of equal rights to all; to reduce oppressive taxation; to lower the high cost of living; and to restore the government of the people to the people.

Tax Reduction.

"The Democratic party is pledged to reduce burdensome taxes. It is opposed to Republican discrimination in favor of the few and against the rights of the many. These discriminations must cease. Wealth as well as brawn must be taxed and pay its just share of the burdens of the Government.

"Our party favors honest reform in tariff taxation—a revision that will do substantial justice to all interests concerned, and not rob the many for the benefit of the few by saddling all the burdens of government on the poor man's back. The selfishness of the beneficiaries of high tariff, and the arrogance of the men who have waxed fat during the past quarter of a century through these unjust discriminations of Republican tariff policies, were never better illustrated than in the Payne-Aldrich law.

Decreased Cost of Living.

"For more than ten years the increasing cost of living, mounting higher and higher each succeeding year, has been the most immediate, the most pressing, and the most universally observed fact about economic conditions in this country. During all this period, while wages have remained practically the same and the cost of the necessities of life have grown more and more oppressive, the promise has been held out by the Republicans that when they got around to tariff revision, something would be done to remedy these inequitable conditions. But what was the result? The mockery of the Payne-Aldrich law—making matters worse instead of better.

The Average Man Losing His Hold.

"Ever since 1896 the average man has been gradually losing his hold on the means of physical existence. The political party in power all this time cannot escape responsibility for these conditions. The people no longer trust Republican promises. They no longer blindly believe in the efficiency of Republican policies. They have lost confidence in the willingness of invested capital to divide up on an equitable basis with productive labor. Sad experience has taught them better. The tremendous development of the Trusts; the annual multiplication of multi-millionaires; the heaping up of 'swollen fortunes'; the systematic overcapitalization of all kinds of enterprises; the consolidation of management and the centralization of ownership; the fixity of the wages of toil; the advancing of prices, in too many cases out of all reason, of the necessities of life—all these things have caused widespread distrust of Republican doctrines, and dissatisfaction with the philanthropic assertions of the beneficiaries of Republican protection.

These Evils Menace Our Civilization.

"A continuance of these evils is a menace to our civilization. It is the duty of Democracy to remedy them, and the Democratic party, under the brilliant leadership of our gifted champion, Woodrow Wilson, with the motto of equal rights to all, and special privileges to none, written across its banner, welcomes the opportunity.

A Good Platform and Splendid Ticket.

"The national Democracy wrote a good platform, and nominated a splendid ticket in Baltimore. Wilson and Marshall will sweep the country on election day. If I am not very much mistaken they will have more votes in the electoral college than were ever cast before in favor of a Presidential ticket.

Democracy Making Good.

"The Democrats all along the line are making good; they are proving the sincerity of their purpose. They are carrying out their promises; they are demonstrating their ability to govern wisely and honestly; progressively and economically; and they are winning the support and the confidence of the people everywhere regardless of past party affiliations.

Democracy's Record in Congress.

"Let us briefly review what the Democrats in Congress have done, and I shall only touch on a few of the most important matters:

"First: The Democrats in Congress revised the Rules, sounded the deathknell of 'Cannonism,' and made the House of Representatives a deliberate body.

"Second: The Democrats in Congress, true to their promises, passed the Tariff Reform bills, to reduce the cost of the necessities of life, and to make living less a struggle for physical existence. We passed the Cotton Schedule bill, the Wool Schedule bill, the Farmer's Free List bill, the tax on Surplus Incomes bill, the Chemical Schedule bill, the Steel and Iron Schedule bill, and the Sugar Schedule bill. These tariff reform bills, so truly in the interest of the people, were either vetoed by a Republican President or failed to receive consideration from a Republican Senate; and until the people elect a Democratic Senate and a Democratic President, their hopes for genuine tariff reform will be as idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean.

"Third: The Democrats in Congress passed the law for publicity of campaign expenses in Congressional and Presidential elections, so that an accurate accounting of campaign contributions must now be made before as well as after election.

"Fourth: The Democrats in Congress passed, and wrote upon the statute books, the law amending the Federal Constitution, so that Senators in Congress shall hereafter be elected by the people—a reform that marks a great advance in representative government—and that will make the Senate as well as the House responsible to the people and responsive to their just demands.

"Fifth: The Democrats in Congress passed, and wrote upon the statute books Statehood for Arizona and New Mexico, and placed two additional stars in the flag of our country.

"Sixth: The Democrats in Congress passed the law giving Alaska home rule and a territorial form of government, in accordance with the continued demands of the patriotic citizens of that wonderland of the world.

"Seventh: The Democrats in Congress passed the resolution congratulating the people of China upon the establishment of a Republic, fashioned after our own, and patriotic America indulges the hope that the Administration will not delay longer official recognition of our sister Republic in the Orient.

"Eighth: The Democrats in Congress demonstrated the fact that they are the friends of the soldiers and sailors of the Union, and wrote upon the statute books the most liberal old soldier pension law in all the history of the Republic.

"Ninth: The Democrats in Congress removed the gag-rule from government employees and vindicated the right of petition—a fundamental principle of our government temporarily suspended by an arbitrary executive order.

"Tenth: The Democrats in Congress passed the most beneficent homestead law for the citizens of our country in the history of the Republic.

"Eleventh: The Democrats in Congress passed, and wrote upon the statute books, the law for an international maritime conference, for the greater security of life and the protection of property at sea, and to prevent a repetition of the Titanic tragedy.

"Twelfth: The Democrats in Congress promised the people an economical administration of governmental affairs, and when this Congress finally adjourns they will have saved the tax payers of the country, in appropriations about a hundred millions of dollars, and it will be done without crippling any agency of government, without retarding any progressive development, and without abandoning in any way the national defense.

"Thirteenth: The Democrats in Congress have shown beyond successful contradiction that they are the true friends of the toilers of our country, and as an evidence of their sincerity they passed through the House of Representatives the Anti-Injunction bill, the Eight Hour bill, the bill for the Children's Bureau, the bill for a Department of Labor with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet, the Industrial Commission bill, and several other meritorious measures in the interest of the wage-earners and for the greater security and protection of life.

"Fourteenth: The Democrats in Congress passed the Resolution reasserting the rights of American citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, regardless of race or religion, and compelled a reluctant administration to abrogate the Russian Treaty, because Russia refused to live up to her treaty obligations and recognize all American passports regardless of race or religion. That act of justice to all will ever be a landmark in our political history.

"Fifteenth: The Democrats in Congress have promoted the business welfare of the country; they have maintained peace and honest commerce with all nations; they have legislated for the progress and the prosperity of the Republic; they have studiously cultivated closer commercial relations with Latin America, and steadfastly refused to sanction the ruthless invasion of the territory of a friendly sister Republic, temporarily distracted by domestic troubles, which would have entailed a costly and a disastrous foreign war.

The Record Speaks for Itself.

"This record of Democratic accomplishment of constructive legislation speaks in thunder tones for the sincerity of Democracy, and demonstrates beyond peradventure its ability to legislate, to govern, and to conduct the affairs of our country along honest, efficient, economical, and constitutional lines.

"The Democratic party appeals to the people on its record of things done and asks for a continuance of their support, with the view of making both Houses of Congress as well as the executive branch of our government Democratic.

The Tariff a Live Question.

"The tariff issue is a live question. It will not down. The more the Republicans try to apologize for their high tariff legislation the more apparent the hypocrisy of the proposition becomes. The Democrats must keep the tariff to the front in the coming campaign. It will never be settled until it is settled right—and it never will be settled right until it is settled by the friends of the consumers.

Republican Promises.

"The Republicans promised that they would revise the tariff downward; they told us that they would reduce oppressive taxes; but the Payne-Aldrich law does not do it. On the contrary, it increases taxation, and is a revision upward. That act convicts the Republican party of its plutocratic copartnership with the tyrannical monopolies and demonstrates the hollowness of Republican promises when it comes to tariff-tax reductions on the necessities of life in the interest of the plain people of the country.

The Payne-Aldrich Law Worse Than the Dingley Law.

"The Republicans gave the people a solemn pledge that if they were kept in control of the Government they would reduce these taxes in order to lighten the burdens of the consumers and cheapen the cost of living; but the Republicans have not done so. On the contrary, the Payne-Aldrich act increases the taxes on the necessities of life, and is worse in many respects than the old Dingley law. The Payne-Aldrich tariff is so bad, in fact, that it is repudiated here and everywhere by conscientious Republicans who have a decent regard for truth and the opinions of mankind.

The Tariff Is a Tax.

"We know to-day, beyond all contention, that the tariff is a tax, and, beyond all dispute, that the consumers pay the taxes. The most hide-bound standpatter cannot dispute this proposition. Ultimately all the burdens of taxation fall upon the consumers of the country. Protection for protection's sake is a system of indirect taxation which robs the many for the benefit of the few—a policy which levies tribute on the masses for the classes, and does it all under the cloak of a discriminating law.

"Let the wage-earners think; let those living on fixed incomes consider, and the toilers of the land who earn their bread in the sweat of their face ponder on these facts. They cannot be successfully controverted. They are as true as the Polar star, and as fixed as the granite hills. Protection for the sake of protection only is undemocratic, un-American, and absolutely indefensible. No party that stands for the best interests of all the people can support it, especially where it fosters trusts, shelters monopolies, and saddles the great burdens of the Government on the farmer and the wage-earner of the country.

Justice to All.

"My friends, I believe in justice to all. I am opposed to special privilege. If I am anything, I am an individualist, and I believe in keeping the door of opportunity open for every individual in all this broad land. That is my democracy, and it is true Democracy; and I use the word 'democracy' not in its political but in the generic sense.

"There is nothing narrow about my political views. I believe in fair play to all. I am opposed to anything that will estrange employer and employee, or cause a breach between capital and labor, and I am a friend of both. I want to give each an equal chance.

Labor Asks Only Equal Rights.

"I believe I voice the sentiments of the working people when I say that all labor wants is a fair show, an equal chance, a square deal—in Congress and out of Congress. Labor is indefatigable and unselfish. It does not ask for more than its just right. We hear much about equality before the law. That is all the workmen want.

"Labor is not of to-day, or of yesterday. It is eternal. Dynasties come and go, governments rise and fall, centuries succeed centuries, but labor creates and goes on forever. Labor is the law of life.

"No man, in my opinion, can pay too high a tribute to labor. It

is the creative force of the world, the spirit of all progress, and the milestones marking the forward movement of every age. Civilization owes everything to labor—to the constructive toilers of the world. Labor owes very little to civilization. Mother Earth is labor's best friend. From her forests and her fields, from her rocks and her rivers, the toilers have wrought all and brought forth the wonders of mankind.

"Tear down your temples and labor will rebuild them; close every avenue of trade and labor will reopen them; destroy your towns and labor will replace them greater and grander than they were; but destroy labor, and famine will stalk the land and pestilence will decimate the human race. If every laborer in the world should cease work for six months, it would cause the greatest catastrophe that ever befell humanity—a tragedy to the human race impossible to depict and too frightful to contemplate.

An Equitable Tariff Revision.

"When we demand an equitable revision of unjust tariff taxes, the Republican standpatters contend that they are all in the interest of labor; that this exorbitant protection is for the benefit of the wage-earner; but every intelligent man in the country knows the absurdity of the proposition. Protection for the sake of protection does not materially benefit labor. Labor comes in free from every country on earth, except China and Japan, and successfully competes here with the skilled labor of the world. Labor receives no protection. Tariff taxation has nothing to do with the receives no protection. Tariff taxation has nothing to do with the price of labor. Capital buys labor, like everything else, as cheaply as it can. Whenever you find two employers looking for one workman, wages will be high, and whenever you find two workmen looking for one employer wages will be low. When the demand is greater than the supply wages go up, and when the supply is greater than the demand, wages go down. Tariff taxes have little or nothing to do with the price of labor. In all prosperous communities labor is sought and not turned aside.

The Workingman's Friend.

"I am now, always have been, and always will be the friend of the workingman; my record of eighteen years in Congress testifies to the fact. The American wage-earner is the greatest producer of real wealth in all our country. He is the best artisan and the best mechanic on earth. Of course, he gets more wages than the foreign workman. And he should, because he can do more work and better work and in less time than the foreigner, and it costs the American workman at least twice as much to live here as it does the foreign workman to live in other countries. On an average during the past ten years the cost of living in the United States has increased more than 50 per cent, and wages have remained, with few exceptions, about the same. The American wage-earner pays twice as much for the necessities of life as the foreign wage-earner. In the end he cannot save much. If the American workman is a little better off than the foreign workman he has no one to thank but himself, no agency to praise for his improved condition but his loyal brothers in the trade unions of the country, which have done more than all other things combined to protect his interests, and promote his material welfare.

All Together Now.

"My friends, we must carry New York this year for the National ticket—for the State ticket—and for the Legislative ticket. The Empire State must be enrolled in the Democratic column on election night.

"It is gratifying to me to know that my nomination for Governor comes from a free and an open convention of independent delegates, elected according to law by the people, and that it has united and harmonized the Democratic party from one end of the State to the other.

"We are all together now, fighting for great fundamental principles—in the interests of all the people. With our faces to the rising sun of Democratic opportunity, under the leadership of our national standard-bearer, the gifted Governor of New Jersey, we are marching on in serried ranks to triumphant victory.

Is a Friend of the Navy.

"The Democratic party is a friend of the navy, and it believes in the restoration of the supremacy of the flag of the United States upon the merchant shipping of the world, and the proper protection to owners of vessels built in this country. When it comes into power it will urge speedy action in favor of the establishment and maintenance of an American Merchant Marine.

The Democrats Can Be Trusted.

"The Democratic party pledges the people of the State and the Nation an honest, an economical and a business-like administration of public affairs. I say business-like advisedly, because I assure the business men in every part of our country that they can rely on the party of Jefferson and Jackson and Cleveland to do its utmost to promote the business and the commercial interests of our land. We realize how important they are, and shall ever be careful to take no step to jeopardize the financial and the commercial supremacy of the Republic.

"Suffice it for me to say that I am a friend of every honest business, whether big or little, and will always have its welfare in view in the administration of State affairs. To this end I shall work unceasingly for quicker and better transportation agencies, and for improved and larger terminal facilities, in order that New York shall continue to receive her just share of the trade and commerce of our country.

Election of Senators by the People.

"If the people send me to Albany, one of the first things I shall do, will be to urge the speedy ratification by the Legislature, of the amendment to the Federal Constitution to elect Senators in Congress by the people.

The Author of the Reform.

"The first thing I did when I went to Congress eighteen years ago, was to introduce a joint resolution for this progressive reform. In my opinion the people can be trusted. They have demonstrated their ability for self-government. If the people cannot be trusted, then our Government is a failure, and the free institutions of the fathers doomed. We must rely on the people, and we must legislate in the interests of all the people and not for the benefit of the few.

"We witness to-day in the United States Senate the fact that forty-eight United States Senators can prevent the enactment of a good law or the repeal of a bad law. The United States Senate is the most powerful legislative body in the world and its members should be elected by the people of the country just the same as the Representatives in Congress are elected. This is of the utmost importance to all people of the country, because when the Senate is directly responsible to the people they will control it, and then, and not till then, will that august body respond to the will of the people.

"The right to elect United States Senators by a direct vote of the people is a step in advance and in the right direction. It has been a long fight, but it is the right kind of reform, and I hope it will be succeeded by others, until this Government becomes indeed the greatest and the best and the freest Government the world has ever seen.

The Dignity of American Citizenship.

"My record of hard work for nearly a quarter of a century in the vineyard of the people proves, if it proves anything, that no man in all our land stands more squarely than I do for the dignity and the rights of American citizenship, native and naturalized—at home and abroad—and I commend the patriotism of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives, which compelled the termination of the Russian treaty of 1832, and

pledge myself to do all in my power in the future to preserve the sacred rights of American citizenship; and I declare that no treaty should ever receive the sanction of our Government which does not affirmatively recognize the unquestionable quality of all of our citizens, irrespective of their religious beliefs, or of the race or nationality of their origin, and which does not expressly guarantee the fundamental right of expatriation.

The Merit System.

"Our platform is explicit regarding the civil service. I am a firm believer in the merit system. The pages of the Congressional Record sustain me in this connection against adverse criticism. How I voted and what I have done are known. I appeal to that record for my justification, and affirm that if I am elected there will be no step backward in civil service reform, and the integrity and efficiency of the merit system will be promoted.

A Friend of Our Soldiers.

"Let me say again what I have often said before, that I am now, ever have been, and always will be the sincere friend of the men who saved our country in the greatest hour of its peril. We owe them a debt we can never pay. They are entitled to our everlasting gratitude, and gratitude to them should be the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the great heart of the Republic. Let us be grateful lest we forget. My sympathy will always be with the brave boys who went to the front in the greatest crisis in all our country's history.

Favors Real Conservation.

"For years I have been the consistent advocate of real conservation. By that I mean such a conservation and such an exploitation of all the natural resources of this favored State that they will benefit every one and not a privileged few. I believe in the old integrities, and the new humanities. By that I mean the new humane idea that a man, a woman and a child are precious assets to the Commonwealth and that all legislation should be informed with a principle that recognizes the value of such assets. I mean that no force, natural or human, should be neglected or wasted, or devoted to the service of a few. I mean that the administrative policy of the rulers of this State should have strict regard to the lives and health of the people, and of the conditions in which the people live. This is now the whole trend of enlightened legislation.

Oscar Straus and Tammany.

"The Bull Moose candidate for Governor is crying in the Wilderness of Despair. He is talking about Tammany for lack of a better topic. Only a few months ago Oscar Straus spoke at a dinner given in my honor, and in the presence of more than a thousand people declared I was a statesman; that I had performed a world work, and that his race owed me a debt of gratitude that never could be paid, for all I had done for the oppressed Jews in Russia. I have not changed since then. Mr. Straus knows that.

"But more—Tammany has certainly been good to the Straus family. The record shows it has given them much.

Has Oscar Straus forgotten when he was a Democrat, and appointed by President Cleveland, Minister to Turkey, on the recommendation of men in this organization? Has he forgotten that Tammany elected one of his brothers to Congress, and nominated another brother for Mayor of New York city? Has he forgotten when Tammany made one of his family a Park Commissioner and then the Commissioner of Public Health? Has he forgotten how Tammany recently nominated and elected one of his relatives to our Supreme Court? Criticism of Tammany, it seems to me, comes with very poor grace from Oscar Straus. He should stop prating about Tammany, and tell us what he ever did to aid his race at home or abroad.

A Democrat Unafraid.

"The people know me and I trust the people. Every office I ever held came from the people. I am no hypocrite. I am a Democrat—unafraid, and I dare to tell the truth. The people have elected me for years to the Legislature in Albany and to the Congress in Washington. I never deceived the people in the past and I shall not deceive them in the future. My public record of accomplishment and for independence for more than twenty years tells its own story, and successfully challenges the adverse criticism of my political opponents. I stand on that record. It has kept me in Congress from an overwhelming Republican district, and I know it will send me to Albany to occupy for the next two years the Executive Chamber—and fear not, my friends, I shall be the Governor. Can I say more?

Democracy's Success Assured.

"The success of Democracy is assured. The Republican party has failed to redeem its promises; it has disappointed the people; it has been weighed in the balance and found wanting; its tenure of official life is short; on every issue of political importance before the people to-day it is in the minority. The stars in their courses are fighting for Democracy. The record is against the Republican party—the people are with Democracy—and all we have to from now on is to use ordinary political sagacity, and the Democratic party will sweep the country in the coming election.

Republicans Have Failed.

"The issues are now with Democracy. The political pendulum is swinging toward the party of Jefferson. The finger on the dial plate of political destiny points to the Sage of Monticello. As Hamiltonism wanes and passes in the shadow, the heroic figure of the founder of our party looms larger and larger on the horizon of the hour. The Republicans have failed to make good. They promised much, but did little. They said they would revise the tariff taxes downward to lessen the burdens of toil and reduce the cost of the necessities of life. They revised the tariff upward and increased the cost of living to a lamentable degree. They said the tariff must be reformed by its 'friends,' and it was reformed with such a vengeance that the people want to annihilate these 'friends.' They said the ultimate consumer was a myth; but every election held since the Payne-Aldrich Tariff act went into effect demonstrates that the ultimate consumer is a reality and tired of being humbugged.

The Republican Party Not What It Used to Be.

"The trouble with the Republican party is that it stands for the few and against the many. It is wedded to the selfish interests. This is all wrong; it must be stopped, and it can only be stopped through the agency of a reunited and militant Democracy. The Democratic party is, and always will be, the hope of the people, the bulwark of the wage-earners, and the protector of the producers of the land. When the Democratic party comes into power again it will remedy these unjust discriminations in a spirit of fairness and equality, so that those best able to bear the burden of government shall at least sustain their just share, and luxuries, as well as the necessities of life, shall contribute to its support.

Republicans Wedded to Selfish Interests.

"The Republican party is not what it used to be; it is no longer the party of Lincoln; it no longer has a message for humanity; it no longer stands for great principles; it no longer has freedom for an asset; it no longer advocates the policies of its founders; it no longer has a single issue it dares present to the country in the interest of all the people. The fingers of special privilege have erased every motto from its banners; its army of supporters is disheartened and split in factions; it is going to pieces from the bitterness engendered by the jealousies of its leaders; it has seen its best day; and it all means, in the near future, overwhelming Republican defeat and triumphant Democratic victory.

"I have no fears for Democracy. The Democratic party will never die until the pillars of the Republic totter and crumble and liberty is no more. Its future is as secure as its past is glorious, and its ultimate success in the struggle for equal rights to all will be the crowning triumph of the progress of the race and the brightest page in the annals of human destiny."

Governor Sulzer this afternoon made the following comment on the Binghamton fire:

"It is one of the prime objects of the State Labor Department to establish and maintain conditions that will make impossible such a heart rending tragedy as that which occurred in Binghamton yesterday. It seems incredible that the Triangle Shirt Waist Company fire of 1911 has been almost duplicated in all its most horrible features, and yet it was this Triangle Shirt Waist Company fire which directly led to the appointment of the Wagner Investigating Committee, charged with the duty of investigating the cause of that fire, and of recommending legislation calculated to prevent such tragedies in the future. This Committee did recommend appropriate legislation, for the better protection of the lives of factory employees, and in pursuance of these recommendations laws were passed last year, and additional laws this year, providing for a more rigid inspection of factories, and more adequate fire escapes.

"But labor legislation is valueless without an efficient labor department to enforce such legislation. I have no hesitation in saying that had the nomination of Mr. John Mitchell as Labor Commissioner been promptly confirmed, conditions might have been established which would have prevented the Binghamton horror. The law reorganizing the labor department which was passed this year, provided for the appointment of sixty additional factory inspectors. The work of these inspectors is sorely needed. But the labor department, without any head and without a first deputy is paralyzed. No one has authority to make the appointments which should be made, and the lives and health of the wage workers of the State must remain in peril, because, forsooth, Charles F. Murphy is not permitted to select a labor commissioner, instead of the Governor of the State.

"In a message to the Senate today I urged that the nomination of James M. Lynch, as labor commissioner, be immediately confirmed to the end that the demoralized condition of the labor department might cease, and that the amendments to the labor law passed this year might be promptly enforced for the protection of the lives and health and general welfare of the working men and women of the State. The uncalled for, unnecessary, and wicked delay of the Senate in causing the present demoralized condition of one of the most important departments in the State may result in calamities more fearful even than that of yesterday. Experience has shown that employers of labor will not properly safeguard the lives and health of their employees except through the intervention of the State. Every humanitarian instinct, and every sentiment of social justice is outraged by the ignominious servility of the Senate of the State, to the boss who controls the legislature."

THE ILLINOIS BANNER

GEO. W. WOOLSEY

DANVILLE, ILLINOIS


February 26, 1918.

Hon. Wm. Sulzer,

New York City.

My Dear Friend:-

I have not heard from you for a long while. I presume you have noticed the fight I am making against the proposed merger of the Prohibition party with the National party. I find that a very large number of our Prohibition party friends take sides with me. But occasionally one write me insulting letters, saying that I do not know what I am talking about and that I am not a safe leader. One went so far as to call me a Sulzer worshipper. The accusation did not hurt me, but rather made me feel proud of



THE ILLINOIS BANNER

GEO. W. WOOLSEY

DANVILLE, ILLINOIS

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the fight I have always put up for you. I have a good article in this week's paper in which the writer gives you and Col. Bacon favorable mention. I suppose some of our leaders who ruled at the St. Paul convention will have their own way at the conventions in Chicago next week. I have been urged to attend, but it now looks like I cannot attend. I put all my available means in the publication of my paper, and consequently I do not have money to spare to attend anything away from home. So I cannot go unless help comes from somewhere this week. I might have been in favor of the merger if the American party had been invited to unite with the other parties, but as it now stands I believe it is a framed up scheme for some selfish purpose, and I do not propose to have anything to do with it if the merger is made. I have less con-

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fidence in some of the higher up Prohibition party leaders today than ever before. I have not been very enthusiastic for the party as it has been worked since the St. Paul convention. I did not like the nomination. It turned out just as I thought it would. It was an excuse for certain cold feet Prohibitionists to get a chance to ride all over the country in a palace car at the expense of conscientious Prohibitionists.

Let me hear from you and know how you are getting along.

Yours sincerely,

Geo. W. Woolsey

In a speech delivered in Tammany Hall, in 1895, on "Recent Legislation and Individual Rights".

Mr. Sulzer spoke as follows:

All legislation in some way, directly or indirectly, affects individual rights. This being a conceded fact, it ought to follow as a logical sequence that the least legislation is generally, for all the people, the best legislation. This is so, especially, when legislation seeks to curtail and infringe upon the liberties, privileges, right and immunities of the individual.

Every citizen should enjoy the largest degree of individual liberty compatible with the welfare of society, and consistent with the rights and privileges of others. The individual man is supposed to be a free man in this country. Here he is supposed to enjoy the largest share of the blessings of individual happiness and liberty; to think for himself, to act for himself, to speak for himself, in fact to be a free agent in all things concerning his constitutional rights and privileges. Therefore, any legislation that hampers him, interferes with him, or clothes him with unnecessary and additional restraints is pernicious, unless it be essential to the absolute welfare of the State and the rights of his fellow-man.

There is undoubtedly too much legislation to-day. Its trend against individual rights seems to be increasing with alarming rapidity and amazing facility. It takes within its scope about everything conceivable, and if it goes on much longer, it will make the American citizen a mere statutory automaton. It will surprise any student

of passing events to glance over the session laws of the different state legislatures during the past few years.

A superficial examination will, I think, fully convince him that there is much legislation to-day that is as useless and foolish as it is obnoxious and dangerous. The legislative mills grinds on and on, year after year, until at the present time, I believe there is hardly an individual in all the land who does not violate some unnecessary, ineffective, useless and forgotten statute, every day of his life.

One of the crying legislative evils of the day is the tendency toward paternal legislation. In some of the state legislatures, during the past few years, this kind of legislation has run mad. The representatives of the people seem imbued with the idea that their constituents, or at all events most of them, are unable to take care of themselves, unable to conduct their own affairs, and hence must have a guardian in the nature of some inane enactment of statutory interference with personal rights.

Some of this busybody legislation concerning the affairs of individuals is ludicrous, and if it were not so serious in its ultimate purposes and results, could be treated as a farce for a mid-summer night's entertainment. It would take too long even to briefly catalogue recent laws of this character; just a specimen here and there will answer.

Within a few weeks the legislature of Ohio treated the world to a serio-comic enactment against high nats in theatres. Why, I wonder, did it not in its wisdom entirely prohibit nats in theatres? Another state legislature has been amusing itself, and adding to the satisfact

ion of cranks, but solemnly debating a bill to make it a misdemeanor to ask anyone to take a drink of spirituous or malt liquor. Why not adopt prohibition in all its entirety and be done with it? The Illinois legislature has just made itself ridiculous by enacting a flag-raising law, and incidentally casting odium on the good name of its state by indicting the Governor as the first offender. New York's representatives have just passed the odious and discriminating Raines Law, and another state, a curfew law for bad little children and scolding women; and so on and on an infinitum in all the state legislatures, exhibitions of experimental legislative paternalism run mad--a veritable epidemic of extravagant farce comedy and opera bouffe.

An epidemic seems to have broken forth among law makers, in all the states, that everything must be regulated by the legislature. The sanctity of no one is safe from legal regulation; no privilege left without statutory restraint, and no vested right free from legislative disturbance. How much longer will it continue? How much longer will the people submit to it, and endure it? If it is not speedily checked, there is no telling the end of the mad enthusiasm for this odious legislative paternalism incident to the dying decade of the nineteenth century.

All of this pernicious legislation affects the rights of individuals to an alarming extent. Half of it should never be on the statute books, and more than half is never enforced by the constituted authorities. Besides too much unnecessary legislation, there is too much legislative officiousness. Many of these useless statutes are unconstitutional, but as they are never enforced, their

constitutionality is never tested by the Courts. Many are void because unintelligible, and a hasty investigation demonstrates their utter absurdity and inefficiency."

In legislation, as in all other things, the best rule to follow is plain, every day, practical common sense, not only in purport and intent of the statutes, but in their construction and phraseology. "More common sense and less tautology," would be a good motto over the chair of every Speaker of every legislature in the country; more plain Anglo-Saxon English and less ambiguity, a good rule for every legislator who drafts a bill, and more care and discrimination in the enactment of laws the best remedy for the relief of overburdened statute books.

No legislation should be enacted into law unless essential, and demanded for the good and protection of all. No more new laws, unless imperatively demanded by sober public sentiment, or by some obvious pressing need or emergency. If this view is taken there is some hope for relief and some improvement in statute making to be hoped for, in the future. The remedy is with the people.

WM SULZER
COUNSELOR AT LAW
115 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

C O P Y .

Leah I. Hough, Esq.,

Canistota,

New York.

My Dear Mr. Hough:

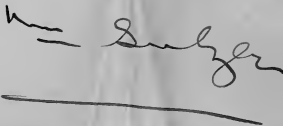
My friends in Steuben County tell me Frank J. Kennedy will be elected to the State Senate.

Let us hope the news is true, but continue to relax no effort to its accomplishment.

Mr. Kennedy is a friend whom I have known for many years. I can testify, in his behalf, that he is honest, capable, sincere, intelligent, and experienced, and will make an ideal State Senator for all the people. He should be elected. If I lived in his district I certainly would vote for him, and I urge my many friends in his Senatorial District, regardless of political affiliations, to vote and work for Mr. Kennedy in order to bring about his election - because it will be for the general welfare; for the cause of good government; and the people can rely on Mr. Kennedy being loyal to the public at all times, and to serve all the people at Albany faithfully, and honestly, and to the best of his ability.

Very sincerely yours,

WS/BE



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FORMER GOVERNOR WM. SULZER.

A Short Sketch of the Man Who Does Things.

By Julius Chambers, F.R.G.S.

(Formerly Managing Editor of the N. Y.
Herald.)

A man who does things, and who has distinguished himself in straight law, and clean politics, is former Governor Wm. Sulzer—lawyer, lecturer, legislator, traveler, and liberal-minded statesman.

Mr. Sulzer was born in Elizabeth, N. J., on March 18, 1863. His father was a farmer, and William was educated in the country school, and later for the law at Columbia College.

He was duly admitted to the bar, in New York City, on attaining his majority in 1884. He soon became recognized as a sound lawyer, and an eloquent public speaker. He has taken an active part in every political campaign, and has been prominent in public life, since 1884. His success in law has only been equalled by his prominence in politics. He was elected to the New York Assembly in 1889, and re-elected for five years. He made a splendid record for usefulness to the State at Albany. No one ever questioned his honesty, his sincerity, or his capability. He served with distinction in the sessions of 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, and 1894.

He was the leader there of his party, and the Speaker in 1893—one of the youngest on record.

From the first the newspapers were his friends. In 1894 the old Tenth District, of New York City, sent him to the Fifty-fourth

Congress. He was returned for eighteen years by increasing majorities. His course in Congress was one of hard work and steady independence. He was a staunch friend of the suffering Cubans. His sympathies are world-wide; his ideas are broad; and his work national—and international.

He introduced the law declaring war against Spain; the constitutional amendment by which United States Senators are elected by direct votes of the people; and the law increasing the pay of letter carriers. He is the author of the resolution denouncing Jewish outrages in Russia; the law increasing the pensions of the soldiers and sailors of the Union; the law to raise the wreck of the Maine; the new copyright law; and the income tax amendment to the Constitution. He is the author of the law to re-establish the merchant marine; for a general parcels post; for national aid in the construction of good roads; the law to create the Department of Labor, with a Secretary having a seat in the Cabinet; the law to decrease the cost of living by placing the necessaries of life on the free list; and of many other measures in the interest of the people of the country.

His record at Albany, and at Washington, is a monument to his untiring zeal, his indefatigable industry, and his constructive statesmanship.

Some people have asserted, and many have assumed, that Mr. Sulzer has been a Tammany man. This is not true. He never was a Tammany man; but, on the contrary, from his first entrance into politics, he has always fought Tammany—and all Tammany stands for—the Spoils system and the Graft system. Tammany always was hostile to Mr. Sulzer's political ambitions, but Mr. Sulzer always won, as an Independent Democrat, because the people, regardless of politics, were loyal to him, and he was loyal to the people.

Mr. Sulzer served on several important committees in the House of Representatives, and as the chairman of the important and responsible Committee on Foreign Affairs, he made good as a diplomat by keeping the Country out of war with Mexico; by abrogating the treaty with the Czar; by reorganizing the Diplomatic and Consular Service; and aiding the establishment of the Republic of China. He is widely read; is considered a fine international lawyer; and has demonstrated great ability along legislative, executive, and diplomatic lines.

Mr. Sulzer was the choice of the up-State Democrats, for Governor, in 1912, and was elected by over 200,000 votes—the largest plurality ever given a candidate for that office in the history of New York.

Immediately on taking the oath of office he began to do things for the people; for reform; for civic righteousness; and for honest government. He made a great record for honesty, for efficiency, and for practical economy. He saved more money for the taxpayers in less time than any other Executive in the annals of New York. He wrote more good laws on the statute books, for the plain people, during his brief term, than any other Governor in the history of the State. He was, beyond successful contradiction, the greatest reform Governor in the pages of the commonwealth. He fought the corrupt Bosses; Wall Street; the confederated railroads; the looting plunderbund; the bipartisan "fifty-fifty" grafters; the enemies of the public schools; and every agency of "invisible government"—and all these enemies of the State finally combined against him, and conspired to oust him from office. After months of a farcical, illegal, and unconstitutional trial, in a packed political court, this corrupt force succeeded—by threats, perjury, bribery, and intimidation—in removing the Governor by just two

votes. The Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, who presided over the travesty, called the "Murphy Court of Infamy," declared the proceedings anarchy, and a disgrace to the State.

The Bosses, and the enemies of the people, trumped up all sorts of absurd charges against the Governor, but every one of them was disproved; nevertheless the marionettes in the Court of the Bosses were "ordered" to oust the Governor, because, they said, his campaign statement of election expenses was irregular, notwithstanding that it was shown to be in accordance with the law.

The laws of New York declare the Governor can only be removed "for wilful and corrupt misconduct in office." The conspirators in the "Murphy Court of Infamy" removed the Governor on the flimsy charge of something he is alleged to have omitted to do long prior to his inauguration—and even this charge was shown to be false.

Mr. Sulzer is the first man in the history of the world to be removed from a great elective office by a "Packed Star Chamber Political Court" for an alleged trivial dereliction committed, or omitted, before he took office. The illegality and the absurdity of the Murphy proceeding must be as apparent to the layman as it is to the lawyer. The so-called Quack trial was a travesty on Justice.

The truth of the matter is that the Governor refused to be bossed; worked for the people instead of Invisible Government; could not be bought or bullied; and had set in motion the machinery of justice to send political grafters to prison. As one of the Bosses put it after the trial: "We had to put him out or he would put us in"—meaning that if the Bosses did not remove the Governor, the Governor would send them to prison for robbing the taxpayers.

Just so soon as the Governor was removed, in the latter part of October, 1913,

the people re-elected him to the Legislature, on an independent ticket, by a majority of 3 to 1 over all other candidates.

This was the Governor's vindication, and a fitting rebuke to the Bosses and their manikins in the "Murphy Court of Infamy."

Besides the Governor, in a series of memorable speeches, addressed to the largest crowds which ever assembled in New York, told the true story of the Tammany rottenness in the State, with the result that the entire Tammany ticket was defeated by an avalanche of ballots from the indignant voters. Mr. Sulzer did things in the Legislature of 1914—and made good. That fall he ran for Governor as an Independent, and polled 127,600 votes, more than six times the normal independent vote, and succeeded in defeating every Tammany candidate running for office in the State.

Mr. Sulzer's record speaks for itself. It is a monument of human endeavor in the vineyard of the people. It needs no eulogy. He is the author of more good laws for mankind than any man to-day in America. He has run seventeen times for high public office, and was never defeated before the people but once—in 1914. He is absolutely honest; fearless; true blue; an intense American; a genuine statesman; a man who does things; a great reformer; and the most eloquent champion of a righteous cause in our land.

Mr. Sulzer is a plodder who makes progress; a thinker who acts; an orator who talks facts; a leader who leads; a legislator who legislates; and a statesman who knows the difference between right and wrong, has the courage of his convictions, and dares to do the right regardless of personal consequences.

Mr. Sulzer is a radical. When a thing is wrong he wants to remedy the evil by destroying it root and branch. He is one of the greatest forces for good in America—

and his record proves it. He has always been a quarter of a century ahead of the times. He is popular with all sorts and conditions of people because of his inherent honesty, his generosity, and his affable manners and sunshiny disposition. No wonder he is so successful as a vote-getter, and that his loyal followers call him "Plain Bill"—and the "Friend of Man"—and that they love him for the enemies he has made.

Governor Sulzer is a "Commoner" through and through. The more you know him, the more you see of him, the more you study him at close range—the more you like him, and the more you appreciate what he has done, and glory in his trials and his triumphs. He needs no defense. His record is as clean as a hound's tooth. His career of struggle for higher and better things, from a poor farm boy to the Governorship of the greatest State in the Union, is an epic poem.

Mr. Sulzer is of large stature, standing over six feet in height, with a weight of 185 pounds, which he carries with the grace of a trained athlete. He is abstemious; has sandy hair, and steel blue eyes that look straight into yours and read your innermost thoughts. During the war with Spain he organized a regiment of volunteers and was elected colonel, but for political reasons it was not called into active service. He declined an Independent nomination for President in 1916.

Mr. Sulzer has been an extensive traveler, and has seen much of the World. In 1908 he married Miss Clara Roedelheim, of Philadelphia, and they live in the Old Home, of the late General "Joe" Hooker, the corner of Fifth avenue and Ninth street, in the heart of the Governor's Old Congressional District, New York City.

The Governor is a 32d degree Mason, has held all the honors in the craft, and years ago became a life member. He is a mem-

ber of Lloyd Aspinwall Post, G. A. R.; the Army and Navy Union; Arabic Order of the Mystic Shrine; National Geographic Society; the Eagles; the Loyal Order of Moose; the League to Secure World Peace; the Pioneers of Alaska; the Arctic Brotherhood; Manhattan Club; Press Club; Masonic Club; and other social clubs in Washington and New York City. His most profitable reading has been history, philosophy, and political economy; and his advice to young men is to work hard, cultivate good habits, have a motive in life, and a positive determination to succeed.

"The fight for honest government must go on. William Sulzer has played his part well, and his race is not yet run. From the watch towers he sounds the alarm. He is the leader. The great living issue he typifies and represents, pulsating with the life blood of humanity, will go forward until a cleaner and purer day arrives in the political life of our country."—From editorial in *The Knickerbocker-Press*, January 3, 1914.

**If You Want to Know the Truth Read This
Great Speech of Wm. Sulzer, Who Was
the People's Governor of New York.**

**Delivered in the Broadway Theatre, New
York City, October 26, 1913.**

(Stenographically reported, and issued by
the National Democratic League of
Clubs.)

Mr. Sulzer spoke as follows:

"Every lawyer in the State, except a Tammany lawyer, will tell you that my trial was illegal, and my removal from office unconstitutional. The Murphy Court of Infamy was a travesty on Justice—a burlesque on judicial procedure. The rules of evidence were thrown to the winds.

Removal Unconstitutional.

"The law of the State declares that the Governor can only be removed for willful and corrupt misconduct in office. There was no charge against me of willful and corrupt misconduct in office—and Mr. Murphy spent, through the Frawley Committee, nearly half a million dollars of the taxpayers' money, in a futile effort to get something on me, but he could not prove, with all the money, and all the agencies at his command, that I had done wrong in office.

My record was searched by sleuths and detectives, paid by Murphy, out of the money of the taxpayers, from the time I was born, and Tammany could not prove, during all my eventful career, that I had ever wronged a man, or a woman, or a child.

"Then you must not forget that the Constitution of the State declares that in an Extraordinary Session of the Legislature, no subject can be considered except a subject recommended by the Governor. I called the Legislature together, in Extraordinary Session, for the purpose of enacting

an honest, and an efficient, and an official direct nominations law—and for no other purpose. At all events I did not recommend my own removal; but notwithstanding the constitutional prohibition, the Murphy Legislature, in violation of the Constitution, recommended my removal. This was done at the dictation of Boss Murphy. What does Murphy care about the Constitution? He is working for the Boss—all the time.

"My friends advised me not to call an Extraordinary Session of the Legislature, but I was so anxious to make good—so determined to carry out the pledges of the Democratic platform, regarding direct nominations—that I did call the Extraordinary Session, in the face of the knowledge that it gave Murphy the weapon he desired to oust me from the Governorship.

Removal Was Anarchy.

"The press, and the pulpit, and the people in the street tell you my removal from office was revolutionary. They say revolutionary because I am the first man in history, elected to a high office, who was removed from that office for an alleged something the Boss declared I forgot to do before I assumed office! Every honest man in the State will tell you my ouster from office was anarchy. The decision of Judge Cullen in my favor—and not the verdict of Tammany—will be the judgment of posterity.

A voice: "Bill, you were robbed!"

Mr. Sulzer: "Yes, I was robbed—robbed of the office the people gave me—by the Boss—because I would not be a creature of the Boss—because I would not obey his orders; because I would not betray the people; and because I would not be a party to the looting of the taxpayers.

A Star Chamber Proceeding.

"The revolutionary proceedings, in the Murphy Court of Infamy, show that I was

removed from office for an alleged something they said I did, or forgot to do, before I became Governor; and the Court resorted to the convenient expedient of going into secret session, behind closed doors, and by a majority vote, overriding the law and the Constitution of the State, and putting in the record everything Murphy wanted to put in, and keeping out of the record everything Murphy wanted to keep out—a Star Chamber proceeding that disgraced the State, and made a farce of the law and the Constitution. Whenever my lawyers offered testimony to disprove the framed-up charges of the Boss, the Murphy Court went into secret session, behind closed doors, and by a majority vote, excluded it. Whenever incompetent, irrelevant, inadmissible, and perjured testimony was offered against me, no matter how ridiculous, no matter how remote, no matter how flimsy, no matter how false, the Murphy Court went into secret session, behind closed doors, and by a majority vote, agreed to put it in the record, in order to try to blacken my character, and to prejudice my case in the estimation of the public. The whole proceeding, from beginning to end, was revolutionary and in violation of the law, and the Constitution, of the State. The record proves it. No one can successfully assert to the contrary—and besides there were men who sat in that so-called Court who were not members of it, and men in it who had no right to vote, and these men voted against me. That is the only way they could get me out. The Court was packed!

"I am the only man in history removed from a great elective office for something they say I omitted to do, after I was born, and before I was elected—and sworn into office—and even this flimsy and far-fetched charge was subsequently shown to be false.

"The Murphy Court was a Court of only

limited jurisdiction, under the Constitution, but it overrode the law, and the precedents, and the Constitution—assumed jurisdiction of everything on earth—to do the dirty work of the Boss, behind closed doors, in secret Star Chamber fashion.

Murphy's High Court of Infamy.

"The people know that I was removed from the Governorship because Mr. Murphy controlled the Assembly, and ordered my removal when he found out I would not be a rubber stamp. He controlled most of the members of The High Court of Infamy; dictated its procedure, and wrote the judgment. Murphy was the Judge and the Jury; the Prosecutor and the Bailiff.

"They called it the High Court of Impeachment, but history will call it Murphy's High Court of Infamy. The trial was a human shambles; a libel on law; a flagrant invasion of constitutional rights; a disgrace to our civilization; and the verdict overturned the safeguards of liberty and the precedents of three centuries.

History Will Do Me Justice.

"The Judgment will not stand the test of time. History will do me justice.

"While I was Governor the Boss controlled the Legislature by practically a two-thirds vote, and told me if I did not do what he demanded he would paralyze my administration; and yet his 'framed-up' charges against me were so flimsy, and so far-fetched, and so absurd, and so insubstantial, that they say Tammany had to use force, and fraud, and bribery, amid disgraceful scenes never before witnessed in a legislative assembly, to finally secure a majority vote against me. The truth of the corruption, and the proofs of the infamous conspiracy to get me out of my office, will

all come out, sooner or later, and when they do come out they will be my complete vindication.

The Frame-Up.

"The Murphy impeachers said they removed me from office because my campaign statement was erroneous; but on a thorough examination it was subsequently shown to be correct. That is the truth. As a matter of fact the charges made against me to get me out of office, were all 'framed-up,' and have been shown to be false, and part and parcel of the political conspiracy to take away my office because I would not be a tool for the Boss, and a creature of Invisible Government.

The Truth.

"When history is written as history should be written—to tell the truth—the reasons for my removal from the Governorship will be the following:

"First: My successful efforts to make the railroads of the State conserve human life.

"Second: My successful efforts to secure the enactment of the laws I recommended to compel honest dealings on the New York Stock Exchange.

"Third: My successful efforts to secure the repeal of the notorious charter of the Long Sault Development Company, by which the State of New York received back its greatest water power and the most valuable of its natural resources.

"Fourth: My defiance of the Boss and my determined fight for honest and genuine direct primaries.

"Fifth: My blunt refusal to be a proxy Governor, or a rubber stamp, for the Boss.

"Sixth: My indignant refusal to do what the Boss demanded regarding legislation, and appointments, and my emphatic NO to the demand to stop the investigations of

thefts of millions of dollars, which were being made, under my direction, to expose graft, and punish the grafters.

"Seventh: My antagonism to Invisible Government, and my determination to set in motion the machinery of the Courts, in various counties of the State, to indict the grafters, bring them to justice, and recover for the people the money the grafters had stolen from the people.

"To the impartial historian, and the unprejudiced investigator, who will take the time to go over the record, and familiarize himself with the real facts, it will be apparent that these were the true reasons why I was removed from the office of Governor of the State of New York. The Murphy reasons are too ridiculous for consideration by sane and sensible people—and do not forget a change of two votes in the Court of the Boss would have prevented my removal, and defeated the Boss, and it may be interesting to know how the necessary votes were finally secured.

Tried to Do Too Much.

"They say I tried to do too much while I was Governor. Well, that is a virtue, and not a weakness. At all events what I did, and all I tried to do, was for the people and the commonwealth. No doubt the future historian, going over the record, will say I tried to do too much and failed; but, if he is just, he will be compelled to say that all that I did, and all that I tried to do, was good and not evil; was for the State and not the Boss; was for the right and against the wrong—and I would rather be right than be Governor.

Would Not Do Wrong.

"The people know that my removal from office by Boss Murphy was because I would not be a 'proxy' Governor; because I would not be dishonest; because I insisted on

stopping graft; because I stood by the taxpayers; because I would not do wrong; because I would not do what Murphy wanted me to do; because I would not be a Murphy tool! and because I refused to be a party to the looting of the State. If I had wanted to make money I could have taken things easy, served out my term, and retired with a million dollars.

The Voters Will Decide.

"The voters will answer Boss Murphy on Election Day. They will tell the Boss what they think of him; they will decide; and the only way the voters can express their opinion of the Boss, and their indignation about my removal from office, and their desire for honesty in public affairs, is to vote against every candidate on the Tammany ticket from top to bottom. That is the way to beat the 'Chief.'

Murphyism Must Go.

"Murphyism must go, or our free institutions are doomed! No man, and no official can serve Murphy and the People; the 'Chief' and the State; if he is true to Murphy he must be false to Duty; he cannot be loyal to the one without betraying the other.

"The way to beat the 'Boss' is to beat the candidates of the 'Boss.' The Murphy ticket should be defeated in the interests of good government, and for the general welfare. Murphyism must go! It is a disgrace to the City and the State.

No Traitors.

"America is America. The ideals of true Americanism and genuine Patriotism are coming to the front. The old regime is passing away. The people demand social justice, economic freedom, and civil and religious liberty. Our free institutions must and shall be preserved. Traitors have been

rioting in the rich reward of treason, but by the living God, they have gone too far.

Tammany a Blot.

"Tammany, under Murphyism, is treason to the Government; Tammany, under Murphyism, is not a political organization—it is a criminal conspiracy to loot the City and the State; a stumbling block to Democracy and to Progress; a big black blot on the fair escutcheon of the Empire State; and a menace to civic righteousness and honest government.

The Brady \$25,000.

"Mr. Murphy has taken several days to answer my charges about the Anthony N. Brady \$25,000, which I refused from Judge Beardsley, and which Judge Beardsley then gave to Mr. Murphy for campaign purposes, and which the 'Chief' never accounted for.

"Mr. Murphy says now he gave this money back to Brady, but Brady is dead and can't corroborate Murphy. Was anyone with them when the money was paid back? Judge Beardsley gave the money to Murphy in bills.

Did Murphy Give It Back?

"Why didn't Murphy give the money back to Beardsley? Were there any witnesses present, so that Judge Beardsley can feel sure that the money he gave Murphy was returned to Brady? Will Judge Beardsley take Murphy's word for it? Why don't you ask Judge Beardsley what he thinks of Murphy's story?

"Everybody knows that Brady and Murphy, at that time, were not on speaking terms. Let Murphy make an affidavit that he paid the money back to Brady, stating the circumstances of the payment in detail.

Murphy Deals in Jobs.

"Those who know tell us Boss Murphy is in politics for all there is in it. He is a

dealer in jobs and contracts—and not in the game for his health. They say he is worth \$5,000,000.00. WHERE DID HE GET IT?

A Voice: "You didn't get a square deal."

Mr. Sulzer: "No, I did not have a Chinaman's chance' in Murphy's Court. Everybody knows that my trial, from beginning to end, was a political lynching—the consummation of a deep-laid political conspiracy. The Murphy Court ruled in everything against me, and ruled out everything in my favor. The rules of evidence were thrown to the winds. The Court was packed to convict. A horse-thief, in frontier days, would have received a squarer deal. In my removal from the Governorship, by Boss Murphy, the State witnessed the most monstrous perversion of Justice in all its history.

The Removal Farce.

"Mr. Murphy, and the Special Interests, which I antagonized, won a temporary victory; but the fight—for honest government—will go on. The farce of my trial will have a good effect in the end. It has opened the eyes of the people to the graft of millions of dollars annually, and it will hasten the adoption of the initiative and the referendum; bring about the recall, by the people, of public officials; and write upon the statute books other reforms, especially an efficient direct primary law, so that the voters, instead of the bosses, will nominate, as well as elect, all officials to public office. The people now know that the power to nominate public officials is the power to control these public officials; and that we cannot have honest government in the City and State of New York until the voters nominate and control all public officials.

Was an Honest Governor.

"As the Governor I was honest in all things, and faithful to my trust. No influence could control me in the performance of my duty but the dictates of my conscience. I lost the office, but I kept my self-respect. I would rather lose the Governorship than lose my soul; I would rather be Right than be Governor; and no Governor can serve God and Mammon; the State and the Special Interests; the PEOPLE and the Boss; the Visible and the Invisible government.

"Let us indulge the hope that my loss of the Governorship will be the people's gain. Misfortunes are often blessings in disguise. If my undoing by an ignorant and an arrogant and a desperate 'Boss' shall be the humble means of forever destroying 'Bossism' in the City and the State of New York, I shall be content, and feel that I have not struggled in vain for better things.

Murphy is Rattled.

"Mr. Murphy is rattled; he knows his ticket is beaten; his statement in reply to my charges is feeble, and it is all too bad for Tammany.

"The Boss wants us to believe that he turns away money. That will make the braves laugh. I have asked Mr. Murphy to tell us where he got his fortune. He dare not answer. How do you suppose he grew rich if he turns away money that comes his way? But everybody believes the 'Chief' got the Brady money. I know it—and there are others.

"You can rob the people for years; you can fool the people for years; you can outrage the people for years; without letting them know it—for years; but when the people find out how they have been plundered; how they have been fooled; how they have been outraged, their wrath is terrible.

Murphy a Menace.

"Do not forget that Murphyism is a menace to the people; an indictment of good government; and a challenge to righteousness. We must get rid of Murphy's Bossship. Murphyism must go! The only way to beat Murphy is to beat the candidates of Murphy. Let it be understood that Murphy can nominate, but that Murphy cannot elect—and then no one will want Murphy's nomination, and Murphy will get out. Vote against the Murphy candidates, and you vote against Murphy. That is the only way to beat the Boss.

Are You a Democrat?

"Are you a Democrat? Remember, eternal vigilance is the price of our liberties. Progress is the watchword of humanity. He who would attempt to stop the wheels of progress is doomed to defeat. The night of party slavery has been long; sometimes it has seemed as if the day would never come; but at last the morning light of the brighter day shines through the darkest clouds of night, and hope is renewed.

"No matter what my political enemies say about me you know that the record proves I was loyal to the people. This fight is your fight—a fight for decent politics, and for an honest administration of our public affairs. In the long run it will make very little difference to me who wins—but it will make a great deal of difference to you, and to your pocketbooks, and to the people of New York. Remember, my friends, the Cause is your Cause—and you must fight for it, because when the battle is won, good government will triumph—and the victory will be yours.

"What is the use of the Democratic voters electing a man Mayor, or Governor, if the Boss can remove him if he does not do what the Boss demands? The Boss has

too much power. No Boss should have the power to nullify the verdict of the people at the polls—only the people should have that power.

Fifty-Fifty.

A Voice. "Governor, tell us about fifty-fifty?"

Mr. Sulzer: "That is a pertinent inquiry. In the old days, when I was a member of the Legislature, during the administrations of Grover Cleveland, David B. Hill, and Roswell P. Flower, the public life at Albany was honest. Now and then a corrupt man got into office, but he was soon found out—and then he was put out. During the time I was in Congress I am glad to stand here, as an American, and testify that official life in Washington is honest. Once in a while a bad man goes there, but he does not stay there long.

"When I went to Albany to be the Governor, on the first day of January, 1913, I found out that public affairs there now are quite different from what they were in the old days. It seems the atmosphere has changed. They say it is in the air. As an erstwhile Senator recently observed—'You can feel it.' In every nook and corner you hear Graft! Graft!! Graft!!! It was all so different from the old days that at first I was bewildered.

Fifty-Fifty Defined.

"Do you know I had not been Governor 24 hours before I heard whispered here and there 'fifty-fifty,' 'fifty-fifty,' 'fifty-fifty.' In the days of Cleveland and Hill and Flower I never heard of fifty-fifty. During the long time I was in Washington I never heard about fifty-fifty. It was something new to me; something I had never heard of before; something I knew nothing about. So I asked a friend, who seemed to be posted, what fifty-fifty meant. He looked at me in

amazement. 'I am surprised,' he said, 'that you do not know about fifty-fifty.' 'If I knew,' I replied, 'I would not ask you. What is it?' 'Well,' he answered, 'fifty-fifty is this: A crooked politician gets a contract to do a piece of public work. He gives the contract to a crooked contractor. The crooked contractor must steal at least 50 per cent. of the amount of money specified in the contract. If he steals less he never gets another contract. If he steals more, he becomes popular. After the crooked contractor has robbed the taxpayers of 50 per cent. of the amount of money specified in the contract, he divides up what has been stolen with the crooked politician—half and half. That is what is known around Albany as fifty-fifty. Do you now understand?' said my informant. 'Yes,' I replied. 'I now understand; and I shall see to it that fifty-fifty is eliminated from the public affairs of our State.' 'Don't you do it!' said this man. 'If you do, you will become very unpopular. You are a popular man now, Governor, and I am your friend; but if you want to get along here, don't interfere with this system of graft called fifty-fifty.' 'Yes, I will,' I replied. 'I promised the taxpayers, when I was a candidate, that if I were elected, I would give them an honest administration, and I am going to do it—come weal or wee.'

"Then I began, as you know, a series of investigations on the Capitol work; on the Canal work; on the Prison work; and on the Highway work. These investigations had not gone far before I discovered that the people of New York are robbed every year of more than six millions of dollars by crooked politicians, and crooked contractors, under this crooked system of graft called fifty-fifty.

Thought He Was Governor.

"When I was confronted with the proofs of these depredations on the pocketbooks

of the taxpayers I determined to prosecute the grafters, and to institute legal proceedings to recover from the contractors the money they had stolen. Mr. Murphy, and others, warned me not to do this. They told me if I went ahead, they would give me the fight of my life. When they found out I was going ahead, they first endeavored to bribe me, and when they found out I could not be bribed, they threatened me with all sorts of things, among them my removal from office. However, I was determined not to be bought, or bullied, and so far as the office I held went I told them frankly that if I could not be the Governor, and carry out my pledges to the people, I did not want to hold the office, and be a 'proxy' Governor. At first I thought I was the Governor, but Murphy said I had only been elected—that he was the Governor. Do you know I really was so unsophisticated that I had the belief that the people elected me to discharge the duties of the Executive Office—and not Murphy.

The Power of the Boss.

"The Boss demanded that I appoint the men he recommended; that I sign, or veto, the bills he approved, or disapproved; that I stop all investigations of graft, that I cease all prosecutions against the grafters; that I dismiss from the service of the State the men he did not like; and that I consult him in Delmonico's about every official act, and carry out, in Albany, his arrogant instructions. When I refused, he bluntly told me he would paralyze my administration through his control of the Legislature, the Courts, and the several Departments of the State—and then throw me out of the Governorship as a warning to others to 'obey' or be 'ousted.' Such is the power of the Boss. What shall we do about it?"

A voice: "Throw out the Boss!"

Mr. Sulzer: "Yes, that is the thing to do.

The Millstone.

"It seems that in New York Tammany candidates are only elected to office—but that the Boss is elected to power. It is this sinister system that I am fighting—and it is your fight. Just so long as Boss Murphy designates the candidates, just so long should defeat overwhelm his candidates. The decent Democrats of the City and the State must submit no longer to the vulgar dictation of Boss Murphy. Do not forget it is the Murphys! and the McCooeys! that make up the political millstone which carries down to defeat the hopes and the ambitions of every Democratic candidate who wears the stamp of their approval, and submits to the collar of their authority.

Elect Honest and Intelligent Officials.

"The general welfare of New York is the supreme duty of the hour. Those who administer in office its affairs should exercise every agency, at their command, to correct existing abuses; to enforce just government; to secure greater economies; to institute more efficiency; to remedy social injustice; to uproot political corruption; and to raise higher the standards of official integrity.

"Every citizen owes a duty to the commonweal. No matter how engrossed a man may be in his own affairs, he should, at least, be patriotic enough to do everything in his power to promote the general welfare by electing honest and intelligent men to office—men who are true, and fearless, and honest, and sincere—men who cannot be Bossed—men who will faithfully live up to their obligations; and men who will carry out, in letter and in spirit, their solemn pledges to the people.

Mr. Murphy's Mutton.

"Those allowed in his august presence say the Boss tells his cronies, in Delmon-

ico's, that New York City is his mutton. Those who know will tell you he looks on the City of New York, as Wallenstein looked, with envious eyes, on London—a splendid city to sack. Elect his candidate for Mayor, and the 'Chief' will do the sacking. In the last analysis that is all there is to this campaign. If the candidate of the Boss wins—the Boss, and his predatory confederates, will do the plundering. If you do not want your pockets picked, for the next four years, beat the Boss by voting against the wax figures of the Boss. It is the only way. The history of the past proves it beyond successful contradiction. The experience of the past is the best guide for the future. Tammany cannot change its stripes. The only thing Tammany fears is THE TRUTH.

What Watterson Says.

"Colonel Watterson tells the Country that the people of New York are incapable of self-government. Just as long as the Democrats permit Boss Murphy to rule the Democratic Organization with a rod of iron, and remove officials who dare to challenge his corrupt demands, the indictment written by the distinguished editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal will hold good. Do not forget that—and do not forget that the taxpayers must keep Murphy candidates out of office if they want to keep Murphy, and his crooked tools, out of power—for you know that no man can be a servile servant of Boss Murphy, and at the same time a faithful servant of the people. No man can serve two masters. The Democratic Organization, in New York City, does not deserve to win in this election, or in any future election, until it is honest, and efficient, and progressive—and free from the fears and the shackles of Boss Murphy—the Despot of Delmonico's.

Murphy the Power.

"Murphy drunk with the power of his Boss-ship, and blind with hate for all that is good, and true, and decent, is the architect of his own undoing. Murphy will be the worst beaten Boss, on election day, in the annals of American politics, and his defeat should sound the doom of his Dictatorship— a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Fought a Good Fight.

"I fought a good fight, against tremendous odds, for honest government; I kept the faith; I was true to my ideals, and to my official oath. I stood by the PEOPLE; I dared to defy the 'orders' of Boss Murphy; and I did it all in the face of threats of personal destruction. HAD I BUT SERVED THE BOSS WITH HALF THE ZEAL I DID THE STATE THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO REMOVAL OF WILLIAM SULZER.

Has No Regrets

"Looking back over it all, I am frank to say I have no regrets, as my conscience is clear and tells me truly that I have done no wrong—but my whole duty—fearlessly and honestly—day in and day out—to all the people of the State—as God gave me the light to see the right.

Justice the Concern of All.

"An injustice to one is the concern of all. If I am the victim of injustice to-day, who knows, but you may be the victim of injustice to-morrow.

A Victim of the System.

"There have been victims of injustice; victims of corrupt Bossism; victims of The

System; victims of Predatory Plutocracy; and victims of Invisible Government throughout all the centuries of the past. I am not the first; neither shall I be the last. History merely repeats itself. The greatest wrongs in the annals of man have been political wrongs done by politicians, under the forms of law. The greatest crimes in all the ages have been political crimes, committed by those who had the power, against the spirit of the times. The greatest blunders ever made in the history of the world have been judicial blunders; done in defiance of the sentiments of mankind; committed under the cloak of law; and proclaimed in the name of Justice. Truth forever on the scaffold; wrong forever on the throne, tells the story, and proves the assertion; and the groans of the martyrs for principle from every torturing rack; the stifled voices of the friends of freedom from every loathsome dungeon; the truths of advanced thinkers echoing from every cruel chamber of persecution; and the heroic forms of the myriad victims, looming large from the frightful flames of every fanatical stake, testify to it beyond successful contradiction."

Was Governor Sulzer Impeached?

The Court of Appeals Says No!

After Mr. Sulzer's illegal removal several eminent lawyers began legal proceedings to test the constitutionality of that infamous act. The case was argued in the Court of Appeals—the Court of last resort—in the State of New York; and that Court side-stepped the issue involved, and decided that Mr. Sulzer had vacated the Governorship by being elected a member of the legislature for the year 1914.

Here is the decision of the Court of Appeals:

NEW YORK COURT OF APPEALS.
The People of the State of New York
ex. rel. Wm. Sulzer—appellant.

By the Court:

"In disposing of this appeal it appears from the record that the appellant has accepted and exercised the duties of an incompatible office, to wit, the office of Member of Assembly, to which he was elected in November, 1913, and to which he qualified on January 7th, 1914, since which time he has continued to act as such. The acceptance of said office of Member of Assembly, under the law of the State of New York, vacated the office of Governor."

In view of the inconsistency, and the ludicrousness, of this decision, Mr. Sulzer's counsel made every effort to get the case into the Supreme Court of the United States, and only failed because it was held that the United States Supreme Court had no jurisdiction in the matter, notwithstanding it was intimated that Governor Sulzer's removal was illegal and unconstitutional.

Was Governor Sulzer impeached? The Court of Appeals tells us he VACATED the office!

Is there no wrong without a remedy?
It seems there is.

What do you think about it?

Col. Henry Watterson, in a Leading Editorial
in the Louisville Courier-Journal, Nov. 9,
1913, Says Governor Sulzer Was
Removed Because He Was
Loyal to the Public.

"That the people of New York are incapable of self-government has long been

the belief of observant and thoughtful on-lookers.

"Alack, the day! New York has no dignity to preserve. Its dignity was thrown to the dogs years ago. Not one of the rogues who voted Governor Sulzer out of office cares a hill o' beans about the honor of the State. The court which tried him was a mock court with a majority fore-sworn. Justice, patriotism, and truth fled to brutish beasts, leaving graft and grafters to fight over the loot and to aid one another in corrupt succession—the people looking on impotent and dazed.

"The opportunities for stealing are so ever-present and easy—the rewards of theft so enormous—the likelihood of punishment is so slight! We read of the Walpole regime in England with a kind of wonder. It was not a flea bite by comparison with the system of pillage which holds New York in a grip from which there seems no escape. Go where one may he encounters its agents and stumbles over its engineeries. Scratch a politician, whatever label he wears, and you find a scamp. Things are every whit as bad as they were under Tweed. They were amateurs in those days. A part of their plan was to enjoy life. Wine, women and song had seats at their tables. Now they are professionals. Addition, division, and silence are ranged about the board where Fisk said 'the woodbine twineth.' No nonsense; just the firmhand, the cold stare, and, where need be the legend, 'dead men tell no tales.'

"Brave William Sulzer! What siren voice of honest government could have lured him to battle on the off side of a stream having no bridges, his line of retreat leading through the enemy's country right into the deadly ambushes and yawning rifle pits of Tammany—Invisible Government—and Wall Street? The case against him was a 'frame-up.' Did he not know that Tam-

many was pollution, and Wall Street a house of prostitution? His efforts for honest government will plead for him. But just as they white-washed Stillwell, so they removed him—because he was loyal to the Public."

Governor Sulzer Blocks Tammany Graft.

(From Editorial in New York World July 23, 1913.)

"Sulzer's real offense was blocking Tammany's access to millions of State money. That is the beginning and end of the vendetta that Murphy is waging against the Governor. The Boss is fighting for his graft, the Legislature is subservient to the Boss, and the business of the State is at a standstill.

"It is possible that the Government of the State of New York touched lower depths of degradation under Tweed than under Murphy, although we doubt it. In Tweed's day there was a strong and virile public opinion that uncompromisingly resisted corruption at every step until the corruptionists were driven out. In Murphy's day the struggle seems to be regarded with cynical indifference as a contest between the Boss, and the Governor.

"Poor old New York! Is it really fit for self-government, or it is fit only for government by contracts? Is Murphy right after all in the sordid view that he takes of the political morals of the people of this State?"

The Rev. Dr. Madison C. Peters, Tribute to Governor Sulzer.

The Rev. Dr. Madison C. Peters says: "Strange mixture of power and practicality, of fancy and fact; of zeal and enthusiasm; dreamer of big dreams, Wm. Sulzer cannot be ignored. You may hate him, or you

may love him; but be sure of one thing—you can never forget him. He is the most potent force for good in our country—the greatest reformer in America.”

A GREAT REFORM GOVERNOR.

**What Doctor Albert Shaw Says
of Mr. Sulzer.**

Mr. Sulzer's work for honest government discussed by Dr. Albert Shaw in the Review of Reviews, December, 1913.

A faithful reflection of public opinion in regard to Governor Sulzer, and his removal from office, is found in the December number of the Review of Reviews. This magazine, edited by Dr. Albert Shaw, presents every month an intelligent, non-partisan, and impartial review of recent history-making events which commends itself to discriminating readers who appreciate how the powers of invisible government distort current news in the columns of many of the daily newspapers.

Dr. Shaw in the Review of Reviews says:

“The election of William Sulzer to the legislature is not merely sensational; it is a political affair that is Revolutionary. Mr. Sulzer as Governor has rendered the State of New York an almost superlative service. The prospect for good government in the State is better now than it has been at any time for half a century—and this result is due to Sulzer. He had a chance, as Governor, to make a nominally good record for himself, and yet to avoid all serious trouble. Tammany would have allowed him to accomplish many things that could have borne the reform label. All that Tammany asked of him was not to investigate Graft too sharply, and to consult Mr. Murphy about appointments. In spite of all kinds of threats to disgrace him, Governor Sulzer

persisted in investigating corruption in the affairs of the State.

"The trumped up charges against the Governor were easily proven to be false. Judge Cullen, who presided over the court, held that Sulzer had done nothing for which he could be impeached. The scoundrels who were mixed up in the orgy of canal and road-building graft were so short-sighted as to suppose that if they removed the Governor they would discredit Mr. Sulzer's accusations against them. But this was the very opposite of what happened. Their removal of Mr. Sulzer focused the attention of the whole world upon their own iniquities. It aroused the entire State of New York to a sense of public danger and public duty.

"But never let us forget that Governor Sulzer, thrown out of his office by Tammany, will unquestionably go down in history, along with Tilden, as one of the great reform Governors of the State of New York, whose courage in defying the corrupt combinations of crooked politics and crooked business led to great progress in the long-suffering but noble cause of good government.

"The great size of Mr. Mitchel's plurality, in the Mayoralty campaign, was due to Mr. Sulzer's speeches in the campaign. The Fusion ticket only had a fighting chance to win. But it happened that Tammany's fight against Governor Sulzer had resulted in sensational exposures of the real reasons that had impelled the Tammany Ring to oust him. It was shown clearly that Sulzer had been impeached, not for his faults, but for his virtues. He had started out as Governor to expose the mismanagement of State departments and the robbery of the State by politicians and contractors in the expenditure of two or three hundred million dollars upon State canals, highways, prisons,

When They Ask You To
Repeal The Direct

PRIMARY LAW

Take A Fool's
Advice—and—

DON'T!



READ THE REASONS.

[Reprinted, by request, by the Direct
Primary Committee of New York]

*The Voters of New York
Want the*

Direct Primary Law

*Extended
and Perfected*

NOT REPEALED.

WHY THE VOTERS WANT DIRECT PRIMARIES

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR WM. SULZER,
IN THE COURT HOUSE,
AT CATSKILL, N. Y.,
JUNE 6TH, 1913.

[*Stenographically Reported*]

MR. SULZER said:

My friends, I am glad to be with you to-night, and I thank you for your cordial greeting. It is also a pleasure for me to be introduced to you by the Democratic Leader of Greene County—George Van Valkenburg.

It is gratifying, too, for me to speak to you in this Temple of Justice, because if I represent anything; if I stand for anything; if I believe in anything; it is for what this Court House typifies—Justice. It has been truly said that for Justice—

"All places a Temple,
And all seasons Summer."

You remember when I was a candidate last Fall for Governor I told the voters that if I were elected I would be the Governor of all the people; that no influence could control me but the dictates of my own conscience; and that I was determined to do my duty to all the people as I saw the right. You recollect I told our citizens that I never had a Boss; that I never would have a Boss; that the only Boss I ever had during the five years I was in the Legislature, and the eighteen years I was in the Congress, was the Boss under my own hat.

The record shows I was elected by the largest plurality ever given a candidate for Governor in the history of the State. They say I spoke to more people during the campaign than any other candidate in all our annals. Some of the people they tell me doubted the sincerity of my campaign speeches, but there was one man in the State who never doubted their sincerity, and that is the man who is now the Governor of the State. I meant what I said last Fall, and I mean what I say now. I have the courage to say what I mean and to mean what I say.

When I became Governor I thought that the job would be easy, but I can assure you that ever since I took the oath of office I have had many trials and much tribulation—and all because I want to do right; all because I want to keep faith; all because I want to stand by the people. The Bosses are against me because I will not do what the Bosses want me to do. But I tell you that if I did what they demand I would lose my self-respect, and I would rather have my self-respect than any office in the State. I would rather be right than be Governor.

When I became Governor I made up my mind that it was my duty to do all I could for the State, and carry out in good faith the promises we made to the voters in our platform. I stood squarely on that platform during the campaign. One of the things that platform demands is State-wide Direct Primaries. I was elected on that platform, and I would not be true to myself, and I would not be true to you, and I would not be true to my party, if I did not now do everything in my power to faithfully carry out our promises in the last campaign. That is all I am trying to do, and you would think that was so fair, and so honest, that every Democrat would be in favor of it. But the Bosses are very

much against it, especially against State-wide Direct Primaries.

When I found out that the Bosses intended to do everything in their power to prevent me from making good, I made up my mind as a duty to you, and in justice to myself, to oppose the Bosses, and I am fighting them now for Direct Primaries—and they know it. I told the voters that I understood State-wide Direct Primaries meant that the voters should have the right to nominate as well as elect the candidates. Nobody disputed that when I was a candidate. However, when I became Governor and asked the Legislature to pass a bill for Direct Primaries, do you suppose the members would do it? Not at all. The members didn't want to give you this right. They say that they will let you nominate a Constable, but they would never think of letting you nominate a Governor. They might let you nominate, they say, a Justice of the Peace, but they would never let you nominate a Judge of the Supreme Court.

You know I have sent several messages to the Legislature in favor of a real Direct Primary law, and I also prepared, and had introduced a bill which is an honest, progressive, comprehensive measure for Direct Primaries. The Legislature defeated the bill, because the Bosses ordered it done. How did they do it? The Democrats caucussed against it. Then the Republicans caucussed against it. Just think of it—two parties caucussed to beat one bill. That is the first time in the parliamentary history of the world, so far as I am informed, that two opposing parties ever caucussed to kill one bill. It will stand out in the years to come as a peculiar precedent of what bi-partisan, boss-ridden, government will do in our day to accomplish its sinister purposes.

After the members beat the bill, at the dictation of the Bosses, they thought it was all

over; that that was the end of the fight; and they packed up their duds and went home. But I told the Bosses, and I warned the Legislature, that the fight had only begun. They realize that now when I have convened the Legislature in Extraordinary Session to make another effort to pass a Direct Primary bill.

When the Bosses tell me they will defeat Direct Primaries again no matter what I do I reply that I appeal from their orders to the people. That is what I am doing now, and have been doing, ever since the Legislature adjourned. The people have the final decision.

Political economists tell us that there are two kinds of taxes—direct and indirect—so I tell you there are two kinds of primaries—direct and indirect. You can't be for both. You must be for direct primaries, or you must be for indirect primaries. Direct primaries are the honest, up-to-date, progressive system by which the voters directly nominate all the candidates for office. Indirect primaries are the present convention system—the Boss system—the delegate system, by which the Bosses nominate all the candidates. If you are in favor of the voters nominating the candidates you will be for Direct Primaries. If you are in favor of the Bosses nominating the candidates you will be against Direct Primaries, and for the archaic convention system.

Boss Tweed used to say that he cared not whom the voters elected to office so long as he could nominate them. Why did Tweed say that? I will tell you. Because the power to nominate is the power to control. The man that nominates the candidate for office is the man that controls the candidate after he gets into office. It is as plain as the nose on your face. Everybody that knows the difference between a hawk and a hand-saw knows that. The power of the Boss is based very largely on this power to nominate the candidates for

office. Take away this power of the Boss to nominate candidates and the Bosses' power will be largely curtailed. The power to nominate is what makes the political Boss.

This struggle for direct nominations is not an abandonment of representative government. On the contrary it is a protest against the perversion of representative government. Under direct primaries the people will be governed by officials just the same as today, but they will be governed by officials they nominate as well as by officials they elect.

In my judgment the spirit of true Democracy is summed up in the slogan, "Let the people rule." They cannot rule until they obtain a successful method of nominating the candidates. New York State is one of the last States in the Union to capitulate to the present-day demand for popular rule in the nomination of candidates for public offices. It is bound to come in New York. The fight is on, and the people are in earnest to secure this salutary reform.

The widespread demand for Direct Primaries originated mainly from the scandalous failure of State Conventions to faithfully reflect the sentiment of the voters. Again and again candidates having strong support in State Conventions have been set aside, and the Bosses have brought forward at the last moment a dark-horse candidate and secured his nomination through skillful political manipulations.

To have Direct Primaries and to have State Conventions is impossible. Direct Primaries have been devised by the friends of progressive government to permit the people to nominate their officials directly without the intermediary of delegates; and as, of course, you cannot have State Conventions without delegates, it follows like the night the day that State Conventions must go and honest direct primaries

must come. There is no middle ground. Those who want to compromise are against the principle. You cannot compromise a principle.

It seems to me that if the voters are competent to directly elect their public officials they are just as competent to directly nominate these officials. That is self-evident, is it not? If it is important for minor officials to be nominated by the voters, it is still more important that the voters be given the power to nominate candidates for Senator in Congress and for Governor. When the Special Interests seek to control public affairs, for the promotion of their selfish ends, through the manipulation of party conventions, the plain people should seek to do the same thing by taking in their own hands the right to nominate directly these important officials.

The truth is, as you know, that the delegate system of nominating officials has completely broken down. As an agency it has proven not only inadequate to carry out the wishes of the voters, but it has become an instrumentality through which the powers of government are prostituted for personal aggrandizement, and brought under the dominion of unscrupulous men seeking special privilege.

Let me be frank with you. I believe it is my duty, as the Governor, elected on a platform declaring for Direct Primaries, to do everything in my power to carry out in good faith the solemn pledge of that platform. Every Democratic official in the State elected on that platform should uphold my efforts to redeem the pledge, and keep true faith with the voters.

So far as I am concerned there will be no step backward. I am in the fight to stay to the end. I am no quitter when I know I am right. For these reasons I ask every honest man in the State who believes in fair play, who wants to keep good faith, and who favors the redemption of solemn party promises, to

come to my aid in this struggle for **Direct Primaries**.

My friends: Let me tell you briefly just what our Direct Primary Bill seeks to accomplish:

1. That all candidates, for public office, shall be nominated directly by the enrolled voters at an official primary.

2. That there shall be a State Committee of 150 members--that is, one from each Assembly District, to be elected directly by the enrolled party voters at the official primary.

3. That all candidates to be voted for in the official primary must be placed on the Primary Ticket by petition; that every nominating petition must contain the appointment of a committee to fill vacancies; that the candidates' names must be arranged alphabetically on the official primary ballot under the title of the office; and that all emblems on the primary ballot must be abolished.

4. That the number of enrolled voters required to sign a nominating petition shall be fixed at a reasonable number; that the official Primary District must be identical with the Election District; that the primary must be held at the regular polling place, conducted by the regular election officers; and that they must be duly selected from the Civil Service List.

5. That each party shall have a "Party Council," to be called by the State Chairman, to frame a platform; such Council to consist of the party candidates for office; the members of the United States Congress from the State; and the several members of the State Committee; that the use of party funds at primary elections shall be prohibited; and that expenditures must be strictly limited, and accounted for ten days before the primary election and ten days thereafter.

That is substantially what our Direct Primary Bill provides. Any proposition less than this

begs the whole question, and violates our pledged faith to the voters of the State. Our plan for Direct Primaries is a step forward and in the right direction. It should be followed by other progressive reforms such as the Short Ballot; the Budget System; Proportional Representation; and the Initiative and Referendum to the end that the people shall rule and govern themselves.

Let me tell you I am now, and always have been, and always will be, in favor of carrying out the platform pledges of a political party to the letter. The best way to strengthen a political party, in my opinion, is to keep faith with the voters. Besides I consider that our "State-wide" Direct Primary Bill is an absolutely non-partisan measure, that takes in all that was good in the Hinman-Green Bill, and goes much further by faithfully reproducing, and actually carrying into practice the pledges of the three great political parties of our State concerned in the last election. On its merits it meets with the approval of the voters, and has the support of a large majority of the intelligent citizens of this State.

Is it necessary for me, or any other man, to say that in continuing the delegate system in nominating State officials the electors are not allowed to nominate directly? In continuing the delegate system we are therefore repudiating our platform pledges, and betraying the people with false pretenses. I shall not be a party to this deception and repudiation. I shall not endorse such a betrayal of the voters. No political party can make me a political hypocrite.

When I cannot be honest in politics I shall get out of politics. I believe honesty in politics will succeed just the same as I know honesty in business will succeed. If anyone doubts that all he has to do is to think of what has been accomplished in this Country during the past quarter of a century by the men who have dared to be true in politics.

When I make a promise to the people I keep it; or I frankly tell the people why I cannot keep it. When my party makes a promise to the people I want my party to keep the promise, or I want the people to know the reason why.

Let us keep faith with the voters. That is my motto. There is where I stand, and I shall stand for that to the end. If any Democrat is against me in my determination to keep faith I must of necessity be against that kind of a Democrat. It is all very simple to me.

The record will show that for years I have been a consistent advocate of Direct Primaries, and I firmly believe that the enactment into law of our State-wide Direct Primary Bill will accomplish what the voters desire, and reflect greater credit on the members of the Legislature than the passage of any other act that can be presented this year for their consideration.

The voters of the State, however, must now see to it that the men they have sent to Albany keep their promises, and in the Extra Session called by me for this purpose only, vote for Direct Primaries, or never hope again for political preferment.

In the recent session of the Legislature the Bosses told the representatives of the people to beat our Direct Primary Bill. In the Extra Session, soon to convene, I want the voters who elected these Senators, and these Assemblymen, to tell them to vote as they direct, and not as the political Bosses misdirect.

My counsel to the Democrats is: Let us be honest and keep our pledges to the people. At all events, as the Governor, I shall, and if the Legislature does not, I want the voters to know the reason why.

No man who trusts the people need have any

fear of Direct Primaries. Only the men who do not trust the people are afraid of Direct Primaries. No man who believes in the Vision of the voters is opposed to Direct Primaries. Only the few who fear the intelligence of the people are against Direct Primaries. No man need be afraid of Direct Primaries whose ability, whose honesty, whose character, whose intelligence, and whose patriotism can stand the searchlight of publicity. No man need dread Direct Primaries who wants to be a popular idol of the people instead of the servile tool of the Bosses. No man need be afraid of Direct Primaries who wants to serve the visible government. Only the creatures who serve invisible government fear Direct Primaries.

As your Governor I stand at the head of the visible government of New York by the votes of the people of the State. I am your servant. I owe my place to you. I am going to be true to you just so long as I am your servant.

Who are the men that are now against the visible government of New York? The Bosses—the agents of invisible government. And who are the Bosses? You know. Just two men out of ten millions of people. Just two men out of a million and a half of voters. Whatever these two men agree upon their automatons in public office carry out obediently.

My friends: Whom do you want me to serve as the Governor? These two men, or all the people of the State? That is the case for you to decide. That is the question for you to answer. Do you want me to serve the people? If you do, then you must be with me in my efforts to restore the government of the State to the people of the State. That is all this fight means. It is a struggle of the Governor against the Bosses to restore to the people the government of the people. The cause is your cause, and in the fight I will

lead where any man will follow, and I will follow where any man will lead.

Let me say I have no vanity in the matter; no pride of opinion, and no personal ends to serve. If I did I would not have to go through the State making these appeals. I could have all I want, and be praised besides, if I would obey the political Bosses, and bend the knee to Mammon—that thrift might follow fawning. But I shall not do it because I have made up my mind to be faithful to the cause of the plain people, and when I cannot be faithful to them I am going to get out of public life.

It is enough to bring the blush of shame to the face of decent citizens to have these Bosses say to the voters: "We will let you nominate a few of the little officials, but we are going to nominate all the big officials. We do not think the voters have brains enough to make the big nominations—that is our business. We know how to nominate. We have the brains. We know the kind of men to nominate. We have had experience. Nominating candidates is our business."

The question before every voter in the State today is: "Do you want to nominate the candidates, or do you want the Bosses to nominate them?" If you want to nominate them you must be for our Direct Primaries. That is all there is to it.

They tell me we cannot beat the Bosses—that we cannot win this fight. When they say that I reply that there has never been a movement in the history of the State to give more power to the people that has not ultimately succeeded. The people never fail to get back their power when they have the opportunity to do so. The adoption of every amendment to the Federal Constitution during the past one hundred years proves that if it proves anything.

Only recently we have amended the Federal Constitution so that the people can elect directly their Senators in Congress. It took a great many years to bring about that reform, and I am glad I helped to write it in our Constitution. The first thing I did when I went to Congress, more than eighteen years ago, was to introduce a Joint Resolution to amend the Federal Constitution to give the people the right to elect their United States Senators. I believed then, and I believe now, that the people could do it just as well as the Bosses' wax figures in the Legislature. It took eighteen years to pass that Joint Resolution. It was a long struggle, but it is now a part of the Federal Constitution, and it will never be repealed. So I have taken up this cause of Primary Reform because the voters want it, and I am going to fight for it until the battle is won.

The people have Direct Primaries now in forty-one States, and the officials in these States tell me the law works well, and that no attempt is being made to repeal the law, and if any attempt were made to go back to the Old Convention System it would be overwhelmingly defeated.

Now, if it works well in these forty-one States don't you think it will work well in the State of New York? Are not the voters of New York just as capable of nominating candidates for office as the voters in Ohio and Massachusetts? Just as competent as the voters in Indiana and Connecticut? Just as intelligent as the voters in New Jersey and Illinois? Just as patriotic as the voters in Kentucky and California? For one I believe we are.

Let me say to you that Direct Primaries are just as sure to come as the sun is to rise tomorrow morning. When we get Direct Primaries the government of the State, to a greater extent, will be restored to the people, and they will control it as they ought to con-

trol it—especially in view of what we know some of the politicians have been doing for the past few years.

My friends, the hour is so late that I must now stop—but in doing so I want to thank you for your considerate attention. I need not tell you that I have appreciated your applause in approval of our Direct Primary Bill. I shall leave in a few minutes this beautiful and historic Village, nestling in our wonderful and picturesque mountains, to go back to my work in Albany, but I go from you with the knowledge that the voters here, where the air is so pure, and where men are so free, are with us in the struggle for the right; with me in my determination to do my duty; with the people in the fight to restore to them their inherent sovereignty, so that we can govern ourselves for our best interests without the aid or consent of any Boss.

Good-night, my friends. Remember this is your cause. Do not forget that if you have bad government the fault is yours. You can have just the kind of government you want. If you want bad government you will get it. If you want good government you can have it; but to get good government you must do your full duty as good citizens. That is the philosophy of government here—and everywhere.



(Telegram)

New York, August 16, 1913.
Governor Wm. Sulzer,
Albany, N.Y.

I believe in you and am your friend.

(Signed) Susan Hill Rudd.

(Telegram)

Riverside, N.Y. August 15, 1913.
His Excellency Hon. William Sulzer,
Governor of the State of New York,
Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

The Methodists preachers at Tarry Conference attending annual camp meeting Riverside, unanimously extend sympathy in fight for constitutional government and your heroic opposition to bi-partisan corruption in public life. We pray needed strength may come to you, restoration to health to Mrs. Sulzer.

(Signed) John Lowe Fort, for all
District Capt.
the Preachers.

(Telegram)

Rochester, N.Y. August 15, 1913.
Governor William Sulzer
Executive Chamber, Albany, N.Y.

Three thousand voters in mass meeting assembled pledge you support in your fight against Tammany for good government.

(Signed) T. H. Armstrong.
Chairman.

(Telegram)

Oklahoma City, Okla. August 15, 1913.
Wm. Sulzer,
Albany, N.Y.

You are right. Don't backwater for a minute.

(Signed) H. E. Mansfield.

(Telegram)

New York, August 16, 1913.
Mr. William Sulzer,
Governor, Capitol, Albany, N.Y.

The United States constitution makes it the duty of the Federal government to secure to each state a Republican form of government. That is the government of law not of an autocrat. Why not apply to the Federal court for an injunction against Glynn on basis of his letter refusing court jurisdiction.

(Signed) Godfrey L. Cabot.

(Telegram)

Cazenovia, N.Y. August 16, 1913.
Governor Sulzer,
The People's House,
Albany, N.Y.

Congratulations on your stand and sympathy in your distress

(Signed) Granville Fortescue.

(Telegram)

New York, August 16, 1913.
Governor Sulzer,
Albany, N.Y.

You are only human, the same as the rest of us, you have made a bad break or two, but up to date I am going to give you the benefit of the doubt like the thousands of others, because you have got the nerve to put up the final fight against Tammany. Here's hoping you win.

(Signed) M.H. DeCorney.

(Telegram)

Alton, Ohio, August 16, 1913.
William Sulzer,
Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

Since Assembly didn't commence appoint your own pro tem successor pending trial. I write this to Herrick and act at once. This is from Jack Hazele telegraph Editor Bacon Journal. After it is all over send me thanks.

(Signed) Hazele.

(Telegram)

Barto, Mont, August 15, 1913.
Hon. William Sulzer,
Governor of the State of New York,
Albany, N.Y.

Born in Albany, in 1839, so hold the fort and stand
pat against Tammany grafters and thieves. The honest people
are with you sincerely.

(Signed) Red D. Leggett.

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Hornell, N. Y., Sept. 28, 1916.

Hon. William Sulzer,
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Sulzer:-

Your letter regarding the returns from the Primary Election was received in due time, and I have just received them, as enclosed. I do not know who that faithful voter was, but think ~~it~~ it was Brother Hough, of Canisteo. This is certainly anything but encouraging, after the labor and expense put out.

I suppose that I am officially nominated as a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and I wish this was not so, as I shall have neither time nor money for it, and if there was any way to get off the ticket, I would, but after to-morrow I do not suppose I can keep my name off the ticket. I am very sorry indeed.

I think that the People in general feel that it is a fight between Wilson and Hughes, and both sides are anxious, as I am myself, and I hope that Hughes will win.

I had hoped that I could work during this campaign, and thus get back some of the money I have spent during the past year for the Cause. I have no source of income at present and do not know when I shall have. I have written Whitman twice, but have received no response as yet.

Trusting this will find you well, and with all good wishes, I remain,

Most sincerely, your friend,

Charles W. Dane.

New York, March 6, 1918

GREETINGS TO THE PROHIBITION AND NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS:

Hotel Sherman, Chicago, Ill.

I had intended to be with you. I deeply regret that this is impossible. A double attack of illness, pleurisy and bronchitis, makes it impossible for me to leave my bed. The doctors have worked hard to get me out of bed to be with you, but have failed.

I am with you in spirit. I bid each of your conventions to take courage. Join forces and cross the river into the Promised Land as a beginning of a new epoch in America and in the world.

"United we stand; divided we fall". Unite now and we will win.

To this cause I pledge my heart and hand.

A soldier in the ranks,

"WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?"

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR SÜLZER

At Cooper Union, and Brownsville, New York City, on Saturday Night, June 14, 1913.

Mr. Sulzer said in part:

"All the arguments now used against direct nominations, and the abolition of State conventions, have been used in opposition to the direct election by the people of United States Senators, but these arguments have been in vain against the rising tide of progressive democracy.

"In my first message to the Legislature I said:

" 'We are pledged to the principle of direct primaries, State wide in their scope and character, and I urge the adoption of such amendments to our primary laws as will *perfect* the direct primary system of the State.'

"The Democratic platform of 1910 declared for 'State-wide' direct primaries, and pledged the party to 'adopt such amendments to the existing law as will *perfect* the direct primary system.'

"The electors of the State understood the words 'State-wide direct primaries' to mean direct primaries applied to the nomination of State officers. Democratic campaign speeches and the newspapers which supported our ticket so interpreted these words.

"Let us not deceive ourselves, and let us not try to deceive the people; the plain fact is, that in our primary reform legislation we, in New York State, have left off our work just where the people expected us to begin.

"By not making our direct primary law apply directly to the nomination of State officers we have continued the delegate system in the particular field in which it has proven the most unsatisfactory to the people.

"I am now, always have been, and always will be in favor of carrying out our platform pledges to the letter. The best way to strengthen a political party is to keep the faith.

"I want to restore to the people of the State the complete control of their State government; to afford the voters of the State the freest expression of their choice of candidates for public office; and I believe that our 'State-wide' direct primary bill embraces an honest, a sincere, a comprehensive and a practical plan for these accomplishments.

"Besides, I consider that our 'State-wide' direct primary bill is an absolutely nonpartisan measure, which faithfully reproduces, and will substantially carry into practice, the pledges of the three great political parties concerned in the last State election.

"There are only two kinds of primaries—direct and indirect. The latter constitutes the reactionary delegate system; the former constitutes the present progressive system. I am for the direct system. I want the people to nominate because I want the people to rule. The power to nominate is the power to control. Do not forget that.

"To have direct primaries and to have State conventions is impossible. Direct primaries have been devised by the friends of good government to permit the voters to nominate their officers directly without the intermediary of delegates, and as, of course, you cannot have State conventions without delegates, it follows that State conventions must go and honest direct primaries must come. There is no middle ground. There can be no compromise. Those who want to compromise are against us. You cannot compromise a principle.

"It is self-evident to me that if the people are competent to directly elect their public officials they are just as competent to directly nominate these officials.

"If it is important for minor officers to be nominated by the people, it is still more important that the people be given the power to nominate candidates for United States Senator and for Governor. That if special interests seek to control public affairs for the promotion of their selfish ends through the manipulation of party conventions, the plain people should seek to do the same thing by taking in their own hands the right to nominate directly these important officials.

"The adoption of State-wide direct primaries, and the abolition of State conventions, is in no sense an abandonment of the principle of *representative government*, but on the contrary it is a protest against the *perversion* of representative government.

"Under direct primaries the people will govern themselves, through representatives, but through representatives *selected by* themselves. Representative government is only made actual when the power to name candidates is taken away from the political bosses, and placed in the hands of the voters of the political party.

"That the people of our State are determined to have no intermediary between themselves and their public servants has been shown by the adoption, in New York, of the seventeenth amendment to the Federal Constitution, under which the people have taken from the Legislature the right to elect United States Senators.

"The people are now demanding a new declaration of political independence to the aid of which they are pledging their most earnest efforts to bring their representatives in the Legislature to the support of our direct primary bill, which will establish conditions under which in things political every man shall count for one, and no man shall count for more than one.

"The changes which we advocate in our primary law are in harmony with the spirit of the times. They

aim to restore to the people the rights which have been usurped by the few, for the benefit of invisible powers which aim to control governmental officials, to pass laws, to prevent the passage of other laws, and to violate laws with impunity. To these invisible powers I am now, always have been, and always will be opposed.

"No government can be free that does not allow all its citizens to participate in the formation and the execution of its laws." Every other government is a mere form of despotism. The political history of the world illustrates the truth that under the forms of democratic government popular control may be destroyed, and corrupt influences, through invisible political power, establish a veritable despotism.

"Tweed used to say that he cared not who elected the officials so long as he could nominate them. Do you know why? Because the power to nominate officials is the power to control these officials when they are elected. That is all there is to it—and that is the reason the bosses want to keep this power to nominate. The power to nominate makes the boss. Every political boss in the State is against direct primaries. Can you blame him?

"Tweed was a boss. You remember he challenged the right of the people to good government. With brazen audacity he defied the voters and said: 'What are you going to do about it?' You know the answer. Have the little Boss Tweeds so soon forgotten the tragic fate of Big Boss Tweed? It is an old saying that history repeats itself.

"We will win in the end the battle to restore to the people the government. The leading newspapers of the State; seven-tenths of the voters of the State, regardless of party affiliations; and the overwhelming popular sentiment of the people, are behind the cause, and are with me in the fight for the legislation.

"Let me tell you briefly just what our direct primary bill accomplishes:

"1. All candidates for public offices are to be nominated directly by the enrolled party voters at an official primary.

"2. A State committee of 150 members, one from each Assembly district, and a county committee for each county, to be elected directly by the enrolled party voters at the official primary.

"3. All candidates to be voted for in the official primary to be by petition only, just the same as independent candidates.

"4. Every nominating petition to contain the appointment of a committee for filling vacancies on the official primary ballot.

" 5. Candidates to be arranged on the official primary ballot under the title to the office. Order of arrangement to be determined in each group by lot, by the commissioners of election, in the presence of the candidates or their representatives. All emblems on the primary ballot abolished. Names of candidates to be numbered from one upward. Voter to indicate his choice by making a cross mark before the name of each candidate.

" 6. The number of enrolled party voters required to sign a nominating petition to be fixed by a percentage of the party vote for Governor at the last preceding election.

" 7. The official primary district is made identical with the election district, and primaries of all parties to be held at the same polling place, conducted by the election officers.

" 8. Each party to have a Party Council to frame a platform; such Council to consist of the party candidates for office to be voted for by the State at large; party Congressmen, and party United States Senators; candidates for the Senate and Assembly and members of the State committee."

" 9. Election of United States Senators by the people provided for in accordance with the recent constitutional amendment. Nominations to be made at official primary in the same manner as for the office of Governor.

" 10. Registration days in the country reduced from four to two, and registration in the country by affidavit required where voter does not appear personally.

" 11. Boards of election in counties having less than one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants reduced from four members to two.

" 12. The use of party funds at primary election prohibited.

" 13. The Penal Law to be amended limiting the amount of money that may be expended by a candidate, or any person in his behalf, for the purpose of seeking a nomination to public office.

" 14. Delegates and alternates from the State at large, and from congressional districts, to the national convention to be chosen by the direct vote of enrolled party voters at the official primary.

" That is briefly what our direct primary bill does. Any proposition less than this begs the whole question and violates the pledged faith to every voter in the State.

" It is my candid opinion that every member of the Legislature is solemnly bound in honor, by the highest moral and political obligations, to vote for the enactment of a direct primary bill; and those who fail to do so will be recreant to their promises, forced to yield to public opinion, and be replaced by others who will vote

to give the State an efficient and just State-wide direct primary law, that will embrace every office, from Governor down to constable.

"If it is wise to trust the people with the power to nominate some public officers, I am sure it is just as wise to trust them with the power to nominate all public officers. I believe it is as wise to trust them to nominate a Governor as to trust them to nominate a constable, and as wise to trust them to nominate a judge of the Court of Appeals as to trust them to nominate a justice of the peace.

"The people have been trusted with this power in many other States, and they have used it to bring about greatly improved conditions. Let the Empire State put itself in line with the foremost States in the Union, by favoring nominations by the people, for thus only can we secure a government of the people.

"So if any one tells you that a direct primary law is not a good thing, you deny it, and point to what other States have done through the agency of this beneficent system.

"No man fears direct primaries, except a man whose character, and whose ability, and whose mentality cannot bear the searchlight of publicity. No man fears direct primaries, unless he wants to be the creature of invisible government rather than the servant of popular government.

"Our State-wide direct primary bill is a good measure. I am for it. My friends are for it. The platform of nearly every party is for it. On this issue there is no middle ground. The Democrats of the State must stand with their Governor for direct primaries, or they have got to be against the Democratic platform. Let every Democrat decide. All my life I have fought for the right; for the truth; for simple justice, and for humanity. No man can make me change now.

"When I make a promise to the people I keep it, or I frankly tell the people why I cannot keep it. When my party makes a promise to the people, I want my party to keep the promise, or I want the people to know the reason why.

"Let us keep the faith. That is where I stand, and I will stand there to the end. If any man is against me in my determination to keep the faith, I must of necessity be against that man.

"It is all very simple to me. If any Democrat in this State is against our State platform, that man is no true Democrat; and as the Democratic Governor of the State I shall do everything in my power to drive that recreant Democrat out of the councils of the Democratic party.

"The record will show that for years I have been a consistent advocate of genuine direct primaries, and I firmly believe that the enactment into law of a State-wide direct primary bill, along the lines of the measure we introduced in the Legislature, will accomplish what the voters desire, and reflect greater credit on the members of the present Legislature than the passage of any other act that can be presented this year for their consideration.

"Let us be honest with the voters and keep our pledges to the people. At all events, as the Governor, I shall, and if the Legislature does not, I want the voters to know the reason why.

"When we consider the waste, the extravagance, the inefficiency, and the corruption, which have recently been brought to light in connection with the administration of public affairs in our State, all due, in no small degree, to the fact that in recent years political power has been gradually slipping away from the people who should always control it, there can be no doubt as to the necessity of this legislation and as to the duty of every patriotic citizen in this all-important matter.

"Every intelligent voter is aware that those who subvert the government to their personal advantage have found their greatest opportunities to do so through the skillful manipulation of our system of political conventions. It must cease or our free institutions are doomed.

"This is a struggle to restore the government to the people. The cause is their cause. In this battle for direct nominations I will lead where any man will follow, and I will follow where any man will lead.

"The voters of the State, however, must now see to it that the men they have sent to the Senate, and the Assembly, keep their promises, and in the extra session vote for our direct primary bill, or never hope again for political preferment.

"In the recent session of the Legislature the bosses told the people's representatives to beat our direct primary bill. In the extra session of the Legislature, called by me, and soon to convene, I want the voters who elected the Senators, and the Assemblymen, to tell them to vote for our primary bill *as they direct*.

"Instruct your representatives in the Legislature what your wishes are in this matter. Tell them what you want them to do about our bill for direct primaries, and rest assured they will not dare to betray you again.

"If the voters in each Assembly and Senatorial district, in Greater New York, will do their duty for the next few days the direct primary bill will be passed in the extra session of the Legislature and success will crown our efforts — but every voter must do his duty."

Albany, N.Y., July 9, 1913.

John H. B. Hanify has been appointed Secretary of the State Hospital Commission to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of T. E. McGarr.

Mr. Hanify was educated at Manhattan College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York. He has made a study of charitable and institutional methods and has been strongly endorsed for the position of Secretary by men of standing in the field of philanthropic and civic work.

Mr. McGarr will be continued in the service of the State Hospital Commission.

Mr. Sulzer, the author of the bill to establish a Department of Labor with a Secretary having a seat in the Cabinet, has been consistently advocating the measure for the past ten years and has introduced the bill in every Congress during that time.

Speaking in favor of the bill to-day, Mr. Sulzer said:

"My bill for a department of labor is a meritorious measure and it should be a law. It is the first bill ever introduced in Congress to create a department of labor. I believe it is the first attempt to systematically classify labor in an intelligent way that has ever been presented in Congress, and its enactment into law will evidence a disposition on the part of the Government to see to it that labor gets full recognition, the dignity of having a voice in the councils of state, and the opportunity to have its claims dispassionately discussed. Give labor this boon and the 'labor question' will be reduced to the minimum.

"The expense of maintenance of the department of labor will practically be but little more than the expense ~~which~~ for the maintenance of the various bureaus at the present time. These bureaus will all be in the department of labor. I do not think anyone will take exception to the bill on the ground that it is going to increase the expenses of the Government. A few thousand dollars in a matter of so much moment as this will be of little consequence. I believe that if this bill were on the state books to-day it would be a long step toward better social, economical, and commercial conditions, a progressive advance along the avenues of industrial peace; that it would go far to allay jealousy, establish harmony, promote the general welfare, make the employer and the employee better friends, prevent strikes, lockouts, blacklists, boycotts, and business paralysis, and every year save millions and millions of dollars of losses which result necessarily therefrom.

"Capital as well as labor should favor this department of labor, because it will go far to solve the labor problem and bring about industrial peace. For years this legislation has been advocated by the farmers and the wage-earners of the country. The bill meets with their approbation and has the approval of the best thought in our land. It has been indorsed by some of the ablest thinkers, some of the wisest political economists, and me

of our leading newspapers. The time is ripe, it seems to me, for the creation of a department of labor with a secretary having a seat in the Cabinet, with all the rights and powers conferred by this bill. It will bring labor and capital closer together, and one is dependent on the other. They should be friends -- not enemies -- and walk hand in hand in the march along the paths of mutual prosperity. This bill, if it becomes a law, will go far to prevent serious labor troubles in the future, do much to solve existing labor problems, and every friend of industrial peace should aid in its enactment. The employers of labor, as well as the employees themselves, whether they belong to trades unions or not, are all, so far as I have been able to ascertain, in accord with the principles of this progressive legislation and heartily approve of this bill.

"I shall fight for the principles embodied in this bill, and continue to advocate its passage until it is enacted into law. It is just and right, and sooner or later it will be the law of the land. I stand for the rights of man. I believe in justice to all. I am opposed to special privilege. I am an individualist. I want to give all an equal chance. I want to keep open the door of opportunity to every individual in all our country. I want to do all I can to make the world better and happier and more prosperous. I believe in the greatness of labor, and I want to do everything I can as a legislator to protect its inherent rights and promote its best interests for the lasting benefit of all the people. I want labor to have as much standing as capital in the halls of Congress and at the seat of government. We have a department to represent finance; we have a department to represent war; we have a department to represent diplomacy; we have a department to represent our internal affairs; we have a department to represent commerce; we have a department to represent justice -- all supported by the wage-earners, and in the name of common sense why should we not have a department to represent industrial peace as exemplified by labor, the most important, in its last analysis, of them all? The creation of this department of labor will be a long step in the right direction in the commendable movement for industrial peace, and through its agency, in my judgment, the perplexing problems can be quickly solved

in a way that will do substantial justice to all concerned.

"In my opinion, all labor wants is a fair show, an equal chance, a square deal — in Congress and out of Congress. Labor is indefatigable and unselfish, sympathetic and consistent. It does not ask for more than its just rights. We hear much about equality before the law. That is all labor wants. It seeks no special privileges.

Labor makes no war on vested rights. It does not rail at honestly acquired wealth. It is not antagonistic to legitimate capital. It would close no door to opportunity. It would darken no star of hope. It would not palsy initiation nor paralyze ambition. It stands for the rights of man; for the greatness of the individual; for equal rights to all and special privileges to none; and so I declare that capital and labor must be friends, not enemies. They should act in harmony, not antipathy. Their interests should be mutual, not antagonistic. In our complex civilization each is essential to the other, and they should walk hand in hand. To prosper they must be at peace, not at war. Each is necessary to the other. Both have their rights and both have their limitations. The inherent rights of labor, to say the least, are as sacred as the vested rights of capital. Labor makes capital — creates all wealth — and should have equal opportunities and as much consideration; but the trouble seems to be that labor does not receive a fair share of what it produces. It is the duty of the just and sagacious legislator, in the interest of our civilization, to see to it that there is less centralization and a more equitable distribution of the fruits of toil."

Our Emblem



The Liberty Bell

HEADQUARTERS OF THE AMERICAN PARTY

BROADWAY CENTRAL HOTEL
675 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY.



Our Motto

Elect Honest, Capable,
Intelligent Men to
Office—Men Who Are
Loyal to The Public—
And Not Subservient
to a BOSS.

BELA TOKAJI
CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

BELMONT EPHRAIM
SECRETARY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Oct. 28, 1916.

CONFIDENTIAL:

Hon. Frederick C. Tanner,
Metropolitan Tower,
Madison Ave. & 23d St.,
New York City.

Cifer

My Dear Mr. Tanner:

Mr. Sulzer sends us most encouraging reports from up State, and from telegrams and letters we are receiving daily from our Leaders in the various Counties, we repeat what we wrote you before, that there is no doubt of Whitman's election; no doubt of Calder's election; no doubt the Republican State and legislative tickets will win out; but the fight between Hughes and Wilson in New York will be close - and we must continue to relax no effort in this connection.

It is now more important for Mr. Sulzer to be here, until the end of the campaign, than to be up State. There are hundreds of things arising every day, of much political moment, that only he can attend to and solve quickly. Besides this we are making strenuous efforts to carry several Congressional Districts, in Greater New York, for the Republican candidates, and Mr. Sulzer is grinding the fight, and is billed to speak, and has promised these candidates to speak, every night next week in these districts. He must be here! Without him here we will be at sea every day. He can keep in touch with our Leaders up State from our Headquarters, and accomplish just as much good, as if he were with these up State Leaders personally. I hope you will realize the importance of this, and will agree with us about it. It is imperative to us - and to your success. We have sent several urgent telegrams to Mr. Sulzer to return as quickly as possible; that matters of great moment here demand his personal attention.

We have not received as yet the campaign buttons you promised to send us. We want ten or twenty thousand just as soon as you can send them. We will make good use of them.

Believe me

Very truly yours,

Bela Tokaji
CHAIRMAN.

What Former Governor Sulzer says: "The American Party is here to stay; and the fight for reform; for our free institutions; for progressive policies; and for honest government, must go on."

THE ONLY DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPER PRINTED IN ITHACA OR IN TOMPKINS COUNTY

ITHACA DAILY NEWS

WM. L. PACKARD
PRESIDENT

CHESTER C. PLATT
VICE-PRESIDENT
AND GENERAL MANAGER

N. M. McHALE
SECRETARY AND TREASURER

ESTABLISHED IN 1864

FOREST CITY PRINTING CO., Publishers

ITHACA, N. Y.

CHESTER C. PLATT
MANAGING EDITOR
GAIL C. STOVER
CITY EDITOR

February 26, 1918.

My dear Governor :

Why not capture a nomination in your old district this fall and go back to Congress ? You would be in a position then to confound some enemies, and win some triumphs. This is what I would have urged in 1914, had I supposed you would not contest the Democratic primaries. Again I would have advised it in 1916. Nothing would gall Mr. Murphy more than to see you back in Washington, a member of the New York City delegation. And few things would please me more.

Mr. Hearst apparently means to contest the Democratic primaries for the Governorship nomination with whatever up-State man the anti-Hearst element finally concentrates upon. With the Tammany organization and its up-State Allies, with the Hearst newspapers and the natural radical sentiment all for Hearst, he could win the nomination against any ~~opponent~~ ^{opponent} I believe. But whether he could be elected, that is another matter.

With best wishes to Mrs. Sulzer from Mrs. Platt and myself,

Yours faithfully,

Chester C. Platt

CCP:JH

Law Offices of
OSBORNE, LAMB & GARVAN
115 Broadway
New York

July 11th, 1913.

Hon. William Sulzer,
Governor of the State of New York,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor:-

I beg to advise you that the Grand Jury yesterday found an indictment against former Warden Kennedy, charging him with a wilful neglect of his duties as a public official. Other indictments have been found about which you will be notified later.

The District Attorney of this County, Francis A. Winslow, and his Assistant Frederick E. Weeks, have rendered invaluable services in the investigation. They have placed at my disposal the entire machinery of their office, and what was more valuable have advised me at all times sincerely and intelligently. These gentlemen are both men of the highest character and of great learning.

I take this early opportunity to state that without their co-operation it would have been impossible for me to obtain the results which have been achieved. In other words, the investigation would have been a failure. They have been untiring in their efforts to the end that the truth concerning Sing Sing Prison might be revealed to the Grand Jury.

With great respect, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(sgd.) James W. Osborne.

LIPE & HARRIS
Attorneys & Counselors at Law,
Lipe Building
Harrisburg, V. A.

July 11, 1913.

Hon. Chester C. Platt, Secretary,
Albany, N. Y.

My dear Sir:-

I am very much obliged to you for a copy of the

Sulzer Primary Bill, and have read with much interest the provisions as to party council and platform. I hope the governor will, ultimately, win his fight against the old-fashioned party conventions. They are absolutely out of date. Indeed, I doubt the advisability of permitting any members of the party organization to take part in the preparation of the platform. After the party has selected its candidate, they alone should promulgate the platform, thereby making them directly responsible to the people, and divorcing the organization as far as possible from the selection of candidates and the declaration of party principles.

I sincerely hope the governor will succeed in his fight for the right of the people to rule against the professional politicians and selfishness of party organization.

Again thanking you for the paper, I am,

Very truly yours,

(sgd.) John T. Harris

TRADES UNION SECTION

Buffalo Association for the
Relief and Control of
Tuberculosis

July 11th, 1913.

Hon. Wm. Sulzer,
Albany, N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

As President, and on behalf of the Trades Union Section of the Buffalo Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis, an organization composed of seventy-two trades unions, of this city, I wish to express our appreciation of the consideration you gave the name of James Lynch as Commissioner of the State Department of Labor, and your final recommendation of him for that office. I can assure you that we earnestly hope for the confirmation of this recommendation by the Senate, and the appointment of Mr. Lynch as Commissioner.

Yours very truly,

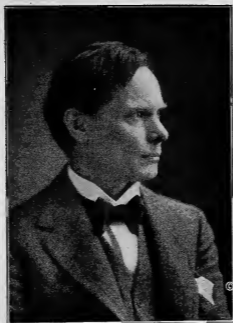
(sgd.) Hugo A. Brown,
President.



WATCHMAN,



WHAT OF THE NIGHT?



**FOR PRESIDENT
WM. SULZER, OF NEW YORK**



ISSUED BY
The American Party
Headquarters, Broadway Central Hotel,
675 Broadway, New York City.



WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

Are you a Patriot? Are you for God, Home, and Country? Then, Brothers, on guard!

Remember, eternal vigilance is the price of our liberties. Progress is the watchword of humanity. He who would attempt to stop the wheels of progress is doomed to defeat. The night of party slavery has been long; sometimes it has seemed as if the day would never come; but at last the morning light of the brighter day shines through the darkest clouds of night, and hope is renewed.

We must fight on for Free Speech; fight on for a Free Press; fight on for Free Public Schools; and fight on for the preservation of our Free Institutions.

As Wm. Sulzer cried out in one of his great speeches for honest government:

"We must not rest till our work is done,

"And the people are satisfied.

"So toil we shall till the set of sun,

"Lest the hire be denied."

These words of a tried leader ring true. We must re-echo them. We must not rest till our work is done—till the grand reward and the glory's won. We must fight like Sulzer fights; and if we do, the victory over Corruption and Treason will be ours.

America is America. The ideals of true Americanism and genuine Patriotism are coming to the front. The old regime is passing away. The people demand social justice, economic freedom, and civil and religious liberty. Our free institutions must and shall be preserved. Traitors have been rioting in the rich reward of treason, but by the living God, they have gone too far.

THE AMERICAN PARTY.



When you get through reading this pamphlet preserve it, or pass it on. Do not throw it away. **Someone else wants it.**

FORMER GOVERNOR WM. SULZER

A Short Sketch of the Man Who Does Things.

By Julius Chambers, F.R.G.S.

(Formerly Managing Editor of the N. Y. Herald.)

A man who does things, and who has distinguished himself in straight law, and clean politics, is former Governor Wm. Sulzer—lawyer, lecturer, legislator, and liberal-minded statesman.

Mr. Sulzer was born in Elizabeth, N. J., on March 18, 1863, of German and Scotch-Irish parentage. His father was a farmer near Elizabeth, and William was educated in the country school, and later for the law at Columbia College.

His parents were strict Presbyterians, and intended their son for the ministry; but he preferred the law, and was duly admitted to the bar on attaining his majority in 1884. He soon became recognized as a sound lawyer, and an eloquent public speaker. He has taken an active part in every political campaign, and has been prominent in public life, since 1884. His success in law has only been equalled by his prominence in politics. He was elected to the New York Assembly in 1889, and re-elected for five years. He made a splendid record for usefulness to the State at Albany. No one ever questioned his honesty, his sincerity, or his capability. He served with distinction in the sessions of 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, and 1894.

He was the leader there of his party, and the Speaker in 1893—one of the youngest on record.

From the first the newspapers were his friends. In 1894 the old Tenth District, of New York City, sent him to the Fifty-fourth Congress. He was returned for eighteen years by increasing majorities. His course in Congress was one of hard work and steady independence. He was a staunch friend of the suffering Cubans. His sympathies are world-wide; his ideas are broad; and his work national—and international.

He introduced the law declaring war against Spain; the constitutional amendment by which United States Senators are elected by direct votes of the people; the law establishing the Bureau of Corporations in the Department of Commerce; and the law increasing the pay of letter carriers. He is the author of the resolution denouncing the Jewish outrages in Russia; the law increasing the pensions of the soldiers and sailors of the Union; the law to raise the wreck of the Maine; the new copyright law; and the income tax amendment to the Constitution. He is the author of the law to re-establish the merchant marine; for a general parcels post; for national aid in the construction of good roads; the law to create a Department of Labor, with a secretary having a seat in the Cabinet; of the law to decrease the cost of living by placing the necessities of life on the free list; and of many other measures in the interest of the people of the country. His record at Albany, and at Washington, is a monument to his untiring zeal, his indefatigable industry, and his constructive statesmanship.

He has been a delegate to every national convention since 1892. I stood beside him at the Chicago convention in 1896 when

Whitney, the chairman of the New York delegation, declined to support Bryan and counselled the New York delegation to bolt. Mr. Sulzer refused to be led out of the convention hall, and stood alone in his support of Mr. Bryan. Mr. Sulzer prevented the New York delegation from bolting, and kept the Democrats from New York regular. He explained to me at the time that he liked Bryan, and that there were so many good things in the platform that he decided to keep the Party regular. This was an act of great courage, for the New Yorkers were then bitterly hostile to Bryan.

Some people have asserted, and many have assumed, that Mr. Sulzer has been a Tammany man. This is not true. He never was a Tammany man; but, on the contrary, from his first entrance into politics, he has always fought Tammany—and all Tammany stands for—the Spoils system and the Graft system. Tammany always was hostile to Mr. Sulzer's political ambitions, but Mr. Sulzer always won, as an Independent Democrat, because the people, regardless of politics, were loyal to him, and he was loyal to the people.

Mr. Sulzer served on several important committees in the House of Representatives. Just as soon as his party gained control there, his colleagues made him chairman of the important and responsible Committee on Foreign Affairs, and he at once made good as a diplomat by keeping the Country out of war with Mexico; by reorganizing the Diplomatic and Consular Service, placing the latter on the merit-system; and aiding the establishment of the Republic of China. He is widely read; is considered a fine international lawyer; and has demonstrated great ability along legislative, executive, and diplomatic lines.

Mr. Sulzer was the choice of the up-State Democrats, for Governor, in 1912, and was elected by over 200,000 votes—the largest plurality ever given a candidate for that office in the history of New York, running far ahead of the Presidential ticket, and thousands and thousands of votes ahead of the State ticket.

Immediately on taking the oath of office he began to do things for the people; for reform; for civic righteousness; and for honest government. He made a great record for honesty, for efficiency, and for practical economy. He saved more money for the taxpayers in less time than any other Executive in the annals of the State. He wrote more good laws on the statute books for the plain people, during his brief term, than any other Governor in the history of the State. He was, beyond successful contradiction, the greatest reform Governor in the pages of the commonwealth. He fought the corrupt bosses; Wall Street; the confederated railroads; the looting plunderbund; the bipartisan "fifty-fifty" grafters; the enemies of the public schools; and every agency of "invisible government"—and all these enemies of the State finally combined to oust him, and conspired successfully to steal his office. After months of a farcical, illegal, and unconstitutional trial, in a packed political court, this corrupt force succeeded—by threats, perjury, bribery, and intimidation—in removing the Governor by just one vote. The Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, who presided over the travesty, called the "Murphy Court of Infamy," declared the consummation of the conspiracy was anarchy and a disgrace to the State.

The bosses, and the enemies of the people, trumped up all sorts of absurd charges against the Governor, but every one of them

was quickly disproved; nevertheless the marionettes in the Court of the Bosses were "ordered" to oust the Governor, because, they said, his campaign statement of election expenses was irregular, notwithstanding that it was shown to be in accordance with the law.

The constitution and laws of New York declare the Governor can only be removed "for wilful and corrupt misconduct in office." The conspirators in the "Murphy Court of Infamy" removed the Governor on a flimsy charge of something he is alleged to have omitted to do long prior to his inauguration—and even this charge was shown to be absolutely false.

Mr. Sulzer is the first man in the history of the world to be removed from a great elective office by a "Packed Star Chamber Political Court" for an alleged trivial dereliction committed, or omitted, before he took office. The illegality and the absurdity of the Murphy proceeding must be as apparent to the layman as it is to the lawyer. The so-called Quack trial was a travesty on Justice.

The truth of the matter is that the Governor refused to be bossed; worked for the people instead of Invisible Government; could not be bought or bullied; and had set in motion the machinery of justice to send political grafters to prison. As one of the bosses put it after the trial: "We had to put him out or he would put us in"—meaning that if the bosses did not remove the Governor, the Governor would send them to prison for robbing the taxpayers.

Just so soon as the Governor was removed, in the latter part of October, 1913, the people re-elected him to the Legislature, on an independent ticket, by a majority of 5 to 1 against all other candidates.

This was the Governor's vindication, and a fitting rebuke to the bosses and their manikins in the "Murphy Court of Infamy."

Besides the Governor, in a series of memorable speeches, addressed to the largest crowds which ever assembled in New York, told the true story of the Tammany rottenness in the State, with the result that the entire Tammany ticket was defeated by an avalanche of ballots from the indignant voters. Mr. Sulzer did things in the Legislature of 1914—and made good. That fall he ran for Governor on the American-Prohibition ticket and polled 127,600 votes, more than six times the normal prohibition vote, and succeeded in defeating every Tammany candidate running for office in the State.

Mr. Sulzer's record speaks for itself. It is a monument of human endeavor in the vineyard of the people. It needs no eulogy. He is the author of more good laws for mankind than any man to-day in America. He has run seventeen times for high public office, and was never defeated before the people but once—in 1914. He is absolutely honest; fearless; true blue; an intense American; a genuine statesman; a man who does things; a great reformer; and the most eloquent champion of a righteous cause in our land.

Mr. Sulzer is a plodder who makes progress; a thinker who acts; an orator who talks facts; a leader who leads; a legislator who legislates; and a statesman who knows the difference between right and wrong; has the courage of his convictions; and dares to do the right regardless of personal consequences.

Mr. Sulzer is a radical. When a thing is wrong he wants to remedy the evil by destroying it root and branch. He is the

greatest Progressive in America—and his record proves it. He has always been a quarter of a century ahead of the times. He is popular with all sorts and conditions of people because of his inherent honesty, his generosity, and his affable manners and sunshiny disposition. No wonder he is so successful as a vote-getter, and that his loyal followers call him "Plain Bill"—and the "Friend of Man"—and that they love him for the enemies he has made.

Governor Sulzer is a "Commoner" through and through. The more you know him, the more you see of him, the more you study him at close range—the more you like him, and the more you appreciate what he has done, and glory in his trials and his triumphs. He needs no defense. His record is as clean as a hound's tooth. His career of struggle for higher and better things, from a poor farm boy to the Governorship of the greatest State in the Union, is an epic poem.

Mr. Sulzer is of large stature, standing over six feet in height, with a weight of 185 pounds, which he carries with the grace of a trained athlete. He is abstemious; has sandy hair, and steel blue eyes that look straight into yours and read your innermost thoughts. During the war with Spain he organized a regiment of volunteers and was elected colonel, but for political reasons it was not called into active service.

Mr. Sulzer has been an extensive traveler, and has seen much of the World. In 1908 he married Miss Clara Roedelheim, of Philadelphia, and they live in the Old Home, of the late General "Joe" Hooker, the corner of Fifth avenue and Ninth street, in the heart of the Governor's Old Congressional District, New York City.

The Governor is a 32d degree Mason, has

held all the honors in the craft, and years ago became a life member. He is a member of Lloyd Aspinwall Post, G. A. R.; the Army and Navy Union; the Eagles; the Loyal Order of Moose; the League to secure World Peace; the Pioneers of Alaska; the Arctic Brotherhood; Manhattan Club; Press Club; Masonic Club; and other social clubs in Washington and New York City. His most profitable reading has been history, philosophy, and political economy; and his advice to young men is to work hard, cultivate good habits, have a motive in life, and a positive determination to succeed.

Mr. Sulzer is a very busy man, but his spare hours are spent in writing a book on "Political Economy," which his friends believe will be a standard text-book on economic principles. His rugged honesty, his loyalty to his friends, his fearless devotion to every duty, his fidelity to principle, his ability as a champion of the oppressed in every land and in every clime have made his name a household word among the people of America, and as an Apostle of Liberty forever enshrined him in the hearts of humanity.

WHY WE ARE FOR SULZER.

(Editorial in "Progressive American," of July 2nd, 1916, the leading Patriotic Paper in Iowa.)

We are for Sulzer because he is for Peace.

We are for Sulzer because he is for Progress.

We are for Sulzer because he is for Prosperity.

We are for Sulzer because he is for Patriotism.

We are for Sulzer because he is for Prohibition.

We are for Sulzer because he is the best equipped man, in our country, to fight for these principles.

We are for Sulzer first, last, and all the time because he can win—and we want to win.

**MR. SULZER'S BRILLIANT RECORD
OF ACCOMPLISHMENT IN
THE LEGISLATURE OF
THE STATE OF
NEW YORK.**

The record of Mr. Sulzer in the Legislature at Albany proves that William Sulzer:

1. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the Women's Reformatory.
2. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the State care of the insane—one of the great reformatory measures of recent times, which has been substantially copied by nearly every State in the Union.
3. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law abolishing sweat shops.
4. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for free lectures for workingmen and working women.
5. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law finally abolishing imprisonment for debt.
6. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the Ballot Reform law.
7. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law to limit the hours of labor.
8. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law to open Stuyvesant Park to the people.
9. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York,

the law to give the people free admission to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

10. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the Prevailing Rate of Wages.
11. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the State Park and to conserve the Adirondack forests.
12. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the conservation of the natural resources of the State of New York, and for the protection of the water sheds of the Hudson River.
13. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law abolishing corporal punishment in the prisons of the State.
14. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law to enlarge the State canals.
15. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the Weekly Payment law.
16. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the Saturday Half-Holiday law.
17. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law establishing the Epileptic Colony.
18. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the Aquarium in New York City.

19. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for Bronx and Van Cortlandt Parks.
 20. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the New York City Free Public Library.
 21. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law to compel the New York Central Railroad Co. to light and ventilate the Fourth Avenue tunnel; and many other progressive measures of far-reaching importance to all the people of the State of New York.
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The people will never forget Governor Sulzer; and they will not forget that the power that removed him might be used to remove another Sulzer—who dared to be free—who dared to be honest. That power is the power of the Boss—and the Boss system must be destroyed.

—From editorial in the Knickerbocker Press, Oct. 20, 1913.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE RECORD OF MR. SULZER'S EIGHTEEN YEARS IN CONGRESS.

The Congressional Record tells the story of Mr. Sulzer's work in Congress for eighteen years, and proves that Wm. Sulzer:

1. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law for the Bureau of Corporations, through the agency of which the anti-trust laws are enforced.
2. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law increasing the pay of the letter carriers of the country.
3. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution of sympathy for the Cuban patriots.
4. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution of sympathy for the heroic Boers in their struggle to maintain their independence.
5. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution of sympathy for the oppressed Jews in Russia, and protesting against their murder by the Russian government.
6. Is the author of the bill to make Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday.
7. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law to abrogate the treaty with Russia because that government refused to recognize Jewish-American passports.
8. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the pension law for the orphans and widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors who saved the Union.
9. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law to elect United States Senators by direct vote of the people.
10. Is the author of, and wrote on the stat-

ute books, the law to restore the American merchant marine, by preferential duties along the lines of the early navigation laws of the country.

11. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law to construct national good roads.
12. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law to raise the wreck of the "Maine."
13. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law to light the Statue of Liberty.
14. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law to create the "Department of Labor," with a Secretary having a seat in the Cabinet.
15. Is the author of the amendment to the Constitution for the income tax.
16. Is the author of the law for postal savings banks, and a general parcels post.
17. Is the author of the law to increase the pension of the volunteer soldiers and sailors who saved the Union.
18. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the new copyright law.
19. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution congratulating the people of China on the establishment of a Republic.
20. As the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in Congress, he reorganized the Diplomatic and Consular Service, and placed the latter on the merit system; kept the Country out of war in Mexico; aided the establishment of the Republic of China; and initiated, and wrote on the statute books, the law to acquire homes, for our Diplomats, in Foreign Countries, so that a poor man, as well as a rich man, can

represent the United States in Foreign Lands.

21. Is the author of the law to prevent any ship sailing from ports of the United States unless equipped with every device for saving life; and many other useful measures in the interests of all the people of the country.

"The Friends of Good Government are with you. I have yet to meet a person who believes, or even pretends to believe, that a single honest motive has animated the proceedings of your antagonists."—Letter of Col. Roosevelt to Governor Sulzer.

"I have refused to compromise with the tempters; and the enemies of the people; and have resolved to go forward with the work I am doing for decent citizenship and honest government—come weal or woe."—Answer of Governor Sulzer to Col. Roosevelt.

WHAT MR. SULZER DID AS GOVERNOR.

1. Proclaimed early in his administration that his election made him the Governor, and not Murphy, and invited anyone who challenged his title to the office to come out in the open and fight.
2. Vetoed the iniquitous Blauvelt bill, on the ground that it did not carry out the pledges of the Democratic platform, and insisted on the enactment of a thorough-going direct nomination law. Spoke to great audiences all over the State denouncing the bosses for blocking primary and other reforms.
3. Called the Legislature in extraordinary session to enact a genuine direct primary law.
4. Appointed commissioners to investigate frauds in various departments. Obtained proofs of graft in the State capitol, and promptly removed every guilty official.
5. Gigantic frauds in contracts for highways discovered, resulting in indictments and convictions of Tammany men who had conspired to plunder the State of millions of dollars.
6. Began investigation of frauds of canal construction, and reorganized the various departments of the State on a scientific basis, to eliminate typical Tammany methods in public office.
7. Caused the reorganization of the Department of Labor, with provisions meant to better the conditions of labor throughout the State, to conserve the health, and protect the lives of workers.
8. Appointed a sanitary commission, the result of which was a law reorganizing

the State Health Department and making it possible to substitute up-to-date scientific methods for an archaic system.

9. Vetoed over \$8,000,000 appropriations, and cut off all the bipartisan graft in the State printing contracts, and the padding of payrolls for the support of an army of Tammany taxeaters.
10. Investigated the State prisons, found shocking conditions and political corruption; obtained indictments; removed the Superintendent of Prisons; and proved the conditions at Sing Sing were so horrible that the Legislature was compelled to order the building of a new penitentiary. Appointed a new Prison Commission, and made Thomas Mott Osborne its Chairman.
11. Prepared and caused the passage of the Stock Exchange bills, to make Wall Street do business honestly.
12. Demanded the resignation of Senator Stillwell, upon proof that he had demanded a bribe for his influence in favor of a bill, and brought about his trial and conviction after the Tammany Legislature had whitewashed the guilty legislator.
13. Refused Murphy's demands for the appointment of James E. Gaffney, Murphy's contracting partner, to be commissioner of highways, in charge of the expenditure of \$50,000,000.
14. Declined to appoint Murphy's commissioner of labor. Appointed John Mitchell the Labor Commissioner; and rejected Boss Murphy's recommendations of other Tammany favorites for important State and judicial offices.

15. Took advice about appointments from distinguished citizens, and leading members of their profession, instead of from the Bosses.
16. Wrote a genuine workingman's compensation law devised for the benefit of workingmen.
17. Wrote upon the statute books the full-crew law. Appointed a railway man, Mr. Chase, a member of the Public Service Commission.
18. Wrote upon the statute books the Civil Rights law.
19. Wrote upon the statute books the law for a Negro Regiment, and ordered it mustered into service.
20. Vetoed the infamous McKee Public School bills.
21. Vetoed the absurd and unjust Tammany constitutional convention bill.
22. Vetoed over \$8,000,000 of unnecessary appropriations—most of which was graft.
23. Invoked the machinery of justice to rid the State of grafters.
24. Wrote upon the statute books an up-to-date and scientific home rule law for cities.
25. Saved the taxpayers more money in less time than any other Governor in the history of the State.
26. Refused to compromise, between Right and Wrong, with Murphy; the railroads; the grafters; Wall Street; the Plunderbund; and Invisible Government.
27. Fought consistently for decent citizenship; civic righteousness; and honest government.

28. Wrote on the statute books the amendment for woman suffrage.
 29. Pardoned Brandt, a Swedish boy, sent to prison for forty years, without a trial, and for a trifling offense.
 30. Demanded the repeal of the Long Sault Water Power charter, and succeeded in restoring to the people one of the greatest natural resources in the State.
 31. Said he would rather be right than be Governor; that he would rather have his own self-respect than any office in the State.
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"No one better than I knows that had Governor Sulzer agreed not to execute his oath of office he would be unchallenged in his place as the executive, no matter what other bitterness might be displayed against his independence of boss control. His inflexible determination to go after all the looters and his purpose to begin with the indictment of Bart Dunn, a member of the State Committee from Tammany Hall, ended all relations with the Organization. Then the savagery of removal from office took life in the Delmonico conference held by Charles F. Murphy. 'It's his life, or ours,' was the way they put it."—From the report of Commissioner Jno. A. Hennessy.

**GOVERNOR SULZER DID NO WRONG
—HE WAS OUSTED BECAUSE HE
COULD NOT BE BOSSED OR
BOUGHT — BECAUSE HE
WAS LOYAL TO THE
PUBLIC.**

(Reprinted from editorial in the "Independent," November 1, 1913.)

Wm. Sulzer needs no eulogy. His place in history is secure. He will live in the hearts of his countrymen for the good he did, and the things he dared to do. He showed how to be a patriot. He wrote a large chapter in the annals of New York, as one of her most honest, one of her most fearless, and one of her most independent Executives. He will live in the history of the Commonwealth as one of her greatest reformers. He did things. He showed great moral courage. He was his own master. He never was afraid.

No Boss could control Wm. Sulzer. No Plutocrat could buy him. From first to last he was loyal to the public. During the time he was Governor he made a remarkable record—a record which has become a part of our glorious history—and nothing his enemies say can detract from his brilliant accomplishments as a statesman.

Wm. Sulzer will live in the hearts of decent citizens. As a patriot he will rank with Lincoln. As a statesman he will stand with Wright. As a reformer he will be compared with Tilden. Besides, Sulzer had only begun his work of reform. He was only on the threshold of his efforts for honest government when he was removed from office by the foulest political conspiracy in the annals of American history. However, the

results of Mr. Sulzer's work, as Governor, will live in the affairs of New York, and the resultant benefits will be felt by the people for generations yet to come.

When the future historian comes to faithfully and impartially write the story of what Governor Sulzer did, and of his illegal trial, and unconstitutional removal from office, he will give as the real reasons for that infamous act the following, viz.:

First: Mr. Sulzer's persistent efforts to secure the enactment of the Full Crew legislation to conserve human life on the railroads.

Second: Mr. Sulzer's persistent efforts to secure the enactment of the laws he recommended to compel honest dealings on the New York Stock Exchange.

Third: Mr. Sulzer's dogged refusal to approve the iniquitous McKee Public School Bills which would give control of our free public schools to an alien political-religious hierarchy.

Fourth: Mr. Sulzer's successful efforts to secure the repeal of the notorious charter of the Long Sault Development Company, by which the State of New York received back its greatest water power and the most valuable of its natural resources.

Fifth: Mr. Sulzer's defiance of the bosses—big and little—and his heroic fight for honest and genuine direct primaries.

Sixth: Mr. Sulzer's determined refusal to be a proxy Governor—a rubber stamp—like Dix and Glynn—for Charles F. Murphy.

Seventh: Mr. Sulzer's absolute refusal to do what the Bosses demanded regarding legislation and appointments, and his blunt refusal to call off prosecutions, and stop investigations, which were being made under

his direction to uncover fraud and expose graft in the State Departments.

Eighth: Mr. Sulzer's moral courage, in the performance of public duty, wherein he insisted on the trial and punishment of Senator Stillwell for extortion. The fight Mr. Sulzer made to bring Stillwell to justice arrayed against the Governor the bitter and secret hatred of all the Bosses, and every crook in the Legislature.

Ninth: Mr. Sulzer's determination to set in motion the machinery of the law, in various counties of the State, to indict the grafters and bring them to justice.

To the impartial investigator who will take the time to go over the record, and familiarize himself with the real facts, it will be apparent that these were the true reasons why Mr. Sulzer was removed from the office of Governor of the State of New York.

As Chief Judge Cullen said: "Governor Sulzer has done no wrong. His removal from office is anarchy."

"The unseen government is doomed. Invisible government has had its day. The people at last are awake to the fact that ballots are only respectable when they represent convictions. The day is forever past when men will blindly go to the polls to register the wishes of a political boss under the threat of regularity."—From speech of Governor Sulzer in Legislature February 1, 1914.

A GREAT REFORM GOVERNOR.

What Doctor Albert Shaw Says of
Mr. Sulzer.

Mr. Sulzer's work for honest government discussed by Dr. Albert Shaw in the Review of Reviews, December, 1913.

A faithful reflection of public opinion in regard to Governor Sulzer, and his removal from office, is found in the December number of the Review of Reviews. This magazine, edited by Dr. Albert Shaw, presents every month an intelligent, non-partisan, and impartial review of recent history-making events which commends itself to discriminating readers who appreciate how the powers of invisible government distort current news in the columns of many of the daily newspapers.

Dr. Shaw in the Review of Reviews says:

"The election of William Sulzer to the legislature is not merely sensational; it is a political affair that is Revolutionary. Mr. Sulzer as Governor has rendered the State of New York an almost superlative service. The prospect for good government in the State is better now than it has been at any time for half a century—and this result is due to Sulzer. He had a chance, as Governor, to make a nominally good record for himself, and yet to avoid all serious trouble. Tammany would have allowed him to accomplish many things that could have borne the reform label. All that Tammany asked of him was not to investigate Graft too sharply, and to consult Mr. Murphy about appointments. In spite of all kinds of threats to disgrace him Governor Sulzer persisted in investigating corruption in the affairs of the State.

"The trumped up charges against the Governor were easily proven to be false. Judge Cullen, who presided over the court, held that Sulzer had done nothing for which he could be impeached. The scoundrels who were mixed up in the orgy of canal and road-building graft were so short-sighted as to suppose that if they removed the Governor they would discredit Mr. Sulzer's accusations against them. But this was the very opposite of what happened. Their removal of Mr. Sulzer focused the attention of the whole world upon their own iniquities. It aroused the entire State of New York to a sense of public danger and public duty.

"But let us never forget that Governor Sulzer, thrown out of his office by Tammany, will unquestionably go down in history along with Tilden and Hughes, as one of the great reform Governors of the State of New York, whose courage in defying the corrupt combinations of crooked politics and crooked business led to great progress in the long-suffering but noble cause of good government.

"The great size of Mr. Mitchel's plurality, in the Mayoralty campaign, was due to Mr. Sulzer's speeches in the campaign. The Fusion ticket only had a fighting chance to win. But it happened that Tammany's fight against Governor Sulzer had resulted in sensational exposures of the real reasons that had impelled the Tammany Ring to oust him. It was shown clearly that Sulzer had been impeached, not for his faults, but for his virtues. He had started out as Governor to expose the mismanage-

ment of State departments and the robbery of the State by politicians and contractors in the expenditure of two or three hundred million dollars upon State canals, highways, prisons, and so on. Mr. Sulzer in a series of wonderful speeches, of definite accusations, with an irresistible quality of carrying conviction, before great masses of people, made the issue so clear that no one was left in doubt—and Tammany was annihilated.

“Governor Sulzer, meanwhile, had been promptly named for the legislature as a Progressive in the old Sixth Assembly District, and his meetings there were attended by countless thousands of sympathetic citizens who arose in passionate determination to vindicate an honest Governor against his corrupt traducers, and infamous opponents.”

“The fight for honest government must go on. William Sulzer has played his part well, and his race is not yet run. From the watch towers he sounds the alarm. He is the leader. The great living issue he typifies and represents, pulsating with the life blood of humanity, will go forward until a cleaner and purer day arrives in the political life of our country.”—From editorial in *The Call*, January 3, 1914.

MR. SULZER ON PATRIOTISM AND AMERICANISM.

Speech, in Part, at the Banquet of the American Party, September 27, 1915, in the Broadway Central Hotel, New York City.

(Reprinted from Times, September 28, 1915.)

"The American Party stands for good government; for decent citizenship; for a square deal; for the rights of the people; for the dignity of labor; for woman's suffrage; for all progressive policies; for the Social Welfare; for the ideals of patriotic America; for Prohibition; and for the perpetuation of the free institutions of the Fathers.

"The politicians—wise and otherwise—know the American Party is the party of the plain people, and will continue to fight the battle of the taxpayers for honest government; to destroy corrupt bossism; and to abolish the iniquitous system of bipartisan graft, called "Fifty-Fifty," by which taxation is doubled, and the few wax fat at the expense of the many.

"As the old parties wane, and pass into the shadow, the American Party looms larger and larger on the political horizon. The American Party is alive—very much alive—and is here to stay.

"We are all Americans—and we are all patriots. The American Party stands for all that is good, and loyal, and glorious in our

country. We must be patriotic. The future of the Republic depends on the patriotism of the people.

"Patriotism is something to be acquired by immediacy of contact with the history, the institutions, the spirit, the privileges, and the amenities of the country out toward which the hearts of our young men and women are to be drawn in loyalty and consecration.

"The freedom that we Americans have in civil and religious liberty, and the profusion of our opportunities—all these matters are so open to us and so much a part of life here that we forget to what extent they are distinctly American; in consequence of which we forget America and think only of the blessings enjoyed by us because we live in America; bathe in its waters and forget their source; like what America gives and forget America that gives it; and think of what is beautiful and enjoyable in our civic life as being an intangible something that is diffused through the atmosphere instead of being the gift to us of institutions that were founded in the anxious toil of our fathers and baptized in blood."

"We are the trustees of a great heritage, and the preservation of that heritage is surpassed by no other in the solemnity of its obligation."

GOVERNOR SULZER'S SPEECH

At the Semi-Centennial Reunion of the
Soldiers Who Fought the Battle of
Gettysburg, July 3, 1913.

(Reprinted from N. Y. World, July 4, 1913.)

On being introduced by Governor Tener, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Sulzer said:

"Gettysburg is fame's eternal camping ground—an inspiration and a shrine—sacred to the heroic men, living and dead, whose struggle here hallowed this ground for all the centuries yet to come.

"All honor and all glory to the men, from upland and from lowland, who met here to do or die for country. Their fame is secure. Their memory will endure.

"Fifty years ago, great captains with their men from North and South—the bravest of the brave that ever faced a foe—struggled here and there across this plain, amid the roar of cannon, for three long weary days, in the mightiest contest that ever shook our land; and in that clash of arms it was decided, then and here, that all men must be free; and that the Republic of the Fathers shall not perish from the earth.

"Half a century has come and gone since that terrific conflict, but the intervening years have only added a greater splendor to the sacrifice, and a grander glory to the victory.

"History tells us that on this far-famed field was fought the decisive battle of the war between the States; that it was here the tide for Union—of all that we are, and all that we hope to be—turned to Old Glory; that it was here the triumph of the Stars and Stripes over the Stars and Bars saved from dissolution the greatest Republic the sun of noon has ever seen; and that the valor, and the heroism, and the devotion, and the chivalry, here displayed, by the men in blue and the men in gray, will live throughout the years of time—the heritage of all—in the song and story of America."

IT LOOKS LIKE SULZER.

(Reprinted from the Searchlight, August 3, 1916.)

Thus far ex-Governor William Sulzer of New York is leading the field for President. However, who knows what may happen between now and election. Governor Sulzer is the candidate of all true Patriots. We are for Sulzer.

"WHAT AMERICA STANDS FOR."

An Extract from an Address of Governor
Sulzer, Delivered in the Y. M. C. A.
Hall, Chicago, Ill., June 9, 1915.

"America stands for hope and humanity; for freedom and friendship; for liberty and justice; and for the open door of opportunity—the beacon light of human aspiration

"The American Party is the Party of America—and stands for these things—and for the flag of our country; for the Constitution; for free speech; for our free Public Schools; for our Free Institutions; for an undivided allegiance to our Government; and for the fundamentals of the Fathers of the Republic.

"We respect everyone's religious beliefs. We demand that everyone shall have the right to worship God according to the dictates of his, or her, conscience. We do not antagonize anyone's religion; but religion is one thing and politics is another. Grasping for the salvation of souls is all right, but grasping for political power to shape the destinies of a nation, is something quite different.

"And so we rejoice in the fact that there is with us no union of Church and State, and there must be none. We, therefore, have no good ground for criticising a religious loyalty that exercises itself toward a foreign point of religious authority; but if that foreign point of religious authority becomes also a point of secular authority, so that

sworn allegiance to the United States is held subordinate to supreme allegiance to a foreign potentate, religious but also political, and with world-wide political ambitions, then the situation becomes definite treason on the part of everyone swearing such allegiance, and should be stigmatized as treason.

This is Free America; and there must be no divided allegiance to our flag; no divided allegiance to our constitution; and no divided allegiance to the Free Institutions of the Fathers of the Republic."

SULZER THE GREATEST VOTE GETTER.

(Reprinted from Editorial in the Banner,
August 5, 1916.)

William Sulzer is a leader who leads. William Sulzer is a worker who works. William Sulzer is a campaigner who campaigns. William Sulzer has no superior as an orator in the country. He is the greatest vote-getter in America. He is an ideal standard bearer for the reform forces of America. Hurrah for "Sulzer and Success."

LET US HAVE A RADICAL PARTY.

(Editorial from Light, the organ of Freemasonry in the United States, July 17, 1916.)

The Democratic Party is Conservative. The Republican Party is Reactionary. There is little difference—save in name—today between these two old parties. Their platforms are identical. They both stand for class and privilege. They are both controlled by the bosses, the beneficiaries of special privilege, and the corroding influences of Invisible Government. Through their subsidized press, and antiquated agencies, there is no hope for the reforms demanded by the people.

The time is opportune, and the people are ready, for a militant, radical, Progressive, Patriotic, truly American Party. Such a party with a candidate having the elements of strength, ability, and popularity of Governor Sulzer can poll in this election forty per cent. of the votes of the country—and that is enough to elect.

We favor Mr. Sulzer because he stands right, and rings true, for God, Home and Country; for honest government; for civic righteousness; for all true reforms; for Peace, Progress, Prosperity, Patriotism, and last, but not least, for Prohibition.

We favor Mr. Sulzer because he is honest; because he never fluked; because he cannot be bossed; because he has great moral courage; because he has been tested by fire; because he fought the greatest battle for good government in the history of America; because in the crisis of his political career he flung ambition on the political scrap heap; spurned bribes, and fought to the end every brazen enemy of the State; because he said he would rather be right than be Governor.

COL. HENRY WATTERSON, IN A LEADING EDITORIAL IN THE LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL, NOV. 9, 1913, SAYS GOVERNOR SULZER WAS REMOVED BECAUSE HE WAS LOYAL TO THE PUBLIC.

That the people of New York are incapable of self-government has long been the belief of observant and thoughtful on-lookers.

Alack, the day! New York has no dignity to preserve. Its dignity was thrown to the dogs years ago. Not one of the rogues who voted Governor Sulzer out of office cares a hill o' beans about the honor of the State. The court which tried him was a mock court with a majority foresworn. Justice, patriotism, and truth fled to brutish beasts, leaving graft and grafters to fight over the loot and to aid one another in corrupt succession—the people looking on impotent and dazed.

The opportunities for stealing are so ever-present and easy—the rewards of theft so enormous—the likelihood of punishment is so slight! We read of the Walpole regime in England with a kind of wonder. It was not a flea bite by comparison with the system of pillage which holds New York in a grip from which there seems no escape. Go where one may he encounters its agents and stumbles over its engineries. Scratch a politician, whatever label he wears, and you find a scamp. Things are every whit as bad as they were under Tweed. They were amateurs in those days. A part of their plan was to enjoy life. Wine, women and song had seats at their tables. Now they are professionals. Addition, division, and silence are ranged about the board where Fisk said "the woodbine twineth." No nonsense; just the firm hand, the cold stare, and, where need be the legend, "dead men tell no tales."

Brave William Sulzer! What siren voice of honest government could have lured him to battle on the off side of a stream having no bridges, his line of retreat leading through the enemy's country right into the deadly ambushes and yawning rifle pits of Tammany—Invisible Government—and Wall Street? The case against him was a "frame-up." Did he not know that Tammany was pollution, and Wall Street a house of prostitution? His efforts for honest government will plead for him. But just as they white-washed Stillwell, so they removed him—because he was loyal to the Public.

GOVERNOR SULZER BLOCKS TAMMANY GRAFT.

(From Editorial in New York World July 23, 1913.)

Sulzer's real offense is blocking Tammany's access to millions of State money. That is the beginning and end of the vendetta that Murphy is waging against the Governor. The Boss is fighting for his graft, the Legislature is subservient to the Boss and the business of the State is at a standstill.

It is possible that the Government of the State of New York touched lower depths of degradation under Tweed than under Murphy, although we doubt it. In Tweed's day there was a strong and virile public opinion that uncompromisingly resisted corruption at every step until the corruptionists were driven out. In Murphy's day the struggle seems to be regarded with cynical indifference as a contest between the Boss, and the Governor.

Poor old New York! Is it really fit for self-government, or is it fit only for government by contracts? Is Murphy right after all in the sordid view that he takes of the political morals of the people of this State?

MR. SULZER IS THE FRIEND OF MAN.

He Stands for God, Home
and Country.

War or Peace—Which?

(Reprinted from the Commoner June 10,
1916.)

In response to a request, from a newspaper, William Sulzer gave his views on peace as follows:

"I am for Peace—not War. The spirit of the age cries for Brotherhood—not War. I am for the establishment of an International Court, having jurisdiction of every international question, with power to enforce its decisions, just the same as our United States Supreme Court has jurisdiction of every interstate question with power to enforce its decisions. The harmony of the times demands it, and the voice of humanity must be heard in this war-mad world. We must prepare for Peace—not War—the Peace of International Brotherhood—the Peace of World Civilization—and not the war of decimation and devastation. War is a relic of barbarism, and belongs to the Stone Age. War is wholesale murder, and more indefensible than retail murder. The time is near when no King or Kaiser; no President or Potentate can make one man cut the throat of another man—and call it War. The theory that might makes right is an exploded fallacy. It belongs on the same political scrap heap as the divine right of Kings. The doctrine of physical force is becoming more and more a diminishing factor in the progress of human affairs and the onward march of Civilization.

A TRIBUTE TO THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF THE UNION.

Governor Sulzer's Speech at the Unveiling
of the Maine Monument, Memorial
Day, 1913.

"This magnificent monument, reared to the memory of the Maine's heroic dead, will be an inspiration and a shrine to generations yet unborn, because it typifies a great idea; because it stands for a great theme—the love of country.

"All honor to the gallant men of the Maine—the brave defenders of our country—their fame is secure. They sleep the sleep that knows no awakening, in the silent mausoleum of Arlington—our country's cemetery for its immortal dead.

"We erect this beautiful Maine Monument not only as a memorial to the dead, but also as a beacon to the living. It will ever be a stimulating influence to the living as well as a testimonial to the dead. From the heroism of their sacrifice let every American take renewed hope—for the perpetuity of our free institutions, and greater determination to stand by American freedom—for which they yielded up the last full measure of their devotion.

"On this Memorial day—the day of all the year for these ceremonies—I say—all glory to the brave soldiers and sailors of our country. This is their day—dedicated to them by a grateful country—sacred to the soldiers and sailors, living and dead, who saved the Union.

"There is no honor in the republic too great for the men who defend the republic. There is no reward in the Union too great for the men who saved the Union. Our country should be grateful to her brave defenders. We should remember that gratitude is the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the human heart."

GOVERNOR SULZER IS A PLATFORM HIMSELF.

(Reprinted from N. Y. Observer, June 19,
1916.)

Editor Observer:

Wm. Sulzer was the greatest reform Governor in the history of New York. His record is the best platform a political party can possess. He is the greatest campaigner, and the best vote getter in America—and he is an honest man. As Governor of New York he fought the Powers that prey. He was loyal to the public. From every point of view he is most eminently fitted to head the "United Reform" ticket for President of the United States. His record as an Assemblyman, as a leader, as a Congressman, as a Governor, as a statesman, as a Patriot, as a Progressive, as a Prohibitionist, as an intrepid reformer, as an orator, as a campaigner, as a vote-getter, as a fulfiller of Promises, proves that he possesses every requirement for this highest office, and entitles him to the nomination for President by the "Reform Forces" of America. William Sulzer, the political martyr of New York State, should be the next President of the United States. I shall personally do all I can bring about his election.

REV. CHAS. W. DANE, D.D.,

Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Hornell,
New York.

GOVERNOR SULZER ON PROHIBITION.

From Speech Before Prohibition Convention, at Pittsburgh, Pa., February 22, 1916.

(Reprinted from Pittsburgh Post, February 23, 1916.)

"When they ask you why I am for prohibition you tell them because I have the courage of my convictions; because I am against intemperance; because I do not straddle a fundamental principle; because I will not be a hypocrite; because I love my fellow man; because I believe the time has come for the Government to get out of the liquor business.

"When they ask you why I am for prohibition you tell them that if the people were to save the money the indulgence in strong drink costs annually, and the same were utilized for public purposes, it would develop our great water powers and give us light, heat, and power free of cost; that it would build the best dirt roads since the days of the Caesars; that it would erect the most beautiful public buildings the eye of man has ever witnessed—all poems in stone—challenging the admiration of every lover of the beautiful; that it would dig the deepest and the widest canals ever constructed on earth; that it would rear to heaven the most magnificent schoolhouses for the children of women ever modeled by the genius of man; and that beyond all, and above all, it would make our people sober and industrious and efficient, and capable of producing in every avenue of trade, every channel of commerce, and every line of human endeavor more than 20 per cent. of what they now produce, and hence to that extent increase the earning and the saving capacity of our workers.

"When they ask you why I am for prohibition you tell them that I am for prohibition because I want our men and women to come out of the swales of drunkenness up to the heights of soberness and get the perspective of the promised land; because I know from facts that those who earn their wage in the sweat of their face and spend it for strong drink are fooling themselves and robbing their families; because I know from statistics, medical and physiological, that the use of alcoholic drinks is death to brain and brawn, and fetters to hope and ambition; because I know from an economic standpoint, to say nothing about its moral and its physical aspects, that the prohibition of the manufacture and the sale of alcoholic liquors, for beverage purposes, will be one of the greatest boons that ever blessed humanity—a tremendous factor for good to every man, woman, and child on earth—a harbinger to all mankind in the struggle for success; and one of the most potent agencies in the world to increase the material wealth of humanity in the onward and upward march of civilization.

"When they ask you why I am for prohibition you tell them that we boast that we are the greatest and richest country in the world, that we have a population of more than 100,000,000 people; that its estimated wealth is more than \$200,000,000,000; that its annual revenue from the liquor traffic is about \$200,000,000; that the people spend every year for alcoholic liquors more than \$2,000,000,000—just about ten times as much as the Government derives from the revenue, a sum of money that staggers the finite mind; that most of the money comes from the poor, and if it were deposited in savings banks to the credit of the toilers we would have a Government without a pauper, and the rich-

est people per capita since the dawn of time in any land or in any clime.

"Tell them that you know, and I know, that for every dollar the Government gets from its association with the liquor business it costs the taxpayers at least \$20 to support courts and juries, hospitals and asylums, paupers and prisoners, poorhouses and penitentiaries. Tell them that the use of alcoholic stimulants is blighting the hope of our womanhood, debauching the flower of our manhood—morally, mentally, and physically—and devastating, degenerating, and decimating the human race.

"Tell them that if I were asked to sum up in a single word the cause on earth of more than seven-tenths of all the woes and all the wants; of all the fears and all the tears; of all the trials and all the troubles; of all the ghouls and all the ghosts; of all the crimes and all the criminals; of all the groans of helpless men, and all the griefs of weeping women, and all the heart pangs of sad-faced children, I should sum it all up in that short word—R-U-M—RUM—which menaces the progress of the race, and challenges the advance of civilization."

"THE NEGRO SOLDIERS."

We here give two short speeches on matters of national moment—one delivered by Mr. Sulzer in the House of Representatives on the 27th of February, 1909. The bill to do justice to the negro soldiers was before the Congress. Mr. Sulzer took the floor and delivered the following eloquent address:

"Mr. Speaker: We have no braver soldiers in the Republic than the negro troops. I am in favor of doing justice to these negro soldiers. They are entitled to it. They never have had a square deal in or out of Court.

"The innocent should not be punished for the guilty. I voted in favor of this bill in the Committee on Military Affairs, and I shall vote to pass it through the House. It is honest and it is just.

"It will be justice to the innocent men. If we fail to do justice in this case, we will be false to ourselves, and false to every principle that we revere. If we refuse to do justice to the colored soldiers who are innocent, we will violate every tenet of our boasted love of fair play. In my opinion, if this bill becomes a law, no guilty man will be able to re-enlist in the army, and no innocent man should be prevented from doing so.

"I have no race prejudice. I want to say that I am now, always have been, and I trust always shall be, in favor of justice to all men—here and everywhere throughout the world—without regard to race or to creed. 'For justice all seasons summer, and all places a temple.'"

"JUSTICE TO THE JEW."

On December 18, 1905, Mr. Sulzer, speaking to his resolution—"For Justice to the Jew"—delivered in Congress the following eloquent tribute to the Jews:

"Mr. Speaker: I arraign Russia before the bar of civilization for high crimes against the Jews. The Russian government is responsible for these outrages on the Jews. Let us say to the Czar, and the grand dukes, who are responsible for these crimes, that the House of Representatives of the United States sympathizes with the Russian Jews, the same as we would with any other outraged people, and that the ruthless extermination of the Jews in Russia must cease.

"We cannot ignore these crimes against humanity. We cannot escape our responsibility. These innocent victims are our brothers and our sisters—mankind throughout the world are one. A continuing crime against one race is the concern of all the other races.

"My heart goes out to the oppressed Jews in Russia. I grieve with those who grieve for their dead. I sympathize with the living and the terror-stricken. I am not a bigot. I care naught for creed. I have no race prejudice. I stand for humanity, and a man is a man, to me, for all that. I have struggled all my life to help those who needed help, to do something to better the conditions of the poor and the humble, and to aid oppressed humanity in every land and in every clime in the forward march of civilization.

"I am a friend of the Jews. It is, however, unnecessary for me, or any one else,

to eulogize the intrepid sons and the virtuous daughters of Israel. The Jew needs no eulogy. All he asks is justice. All he demands is equal opportunity. All he wants is equality before the law. The record of his race, from the dawn of time down to the present day, is the history of the march of humanity along the highways of progress and the avenues of civilization. In all ages of the world the ostracized Jew has done his share for his fellow-man, for enlightenment, for liberty, for freedom, for progress, and for civilization—and he has done it all in the face of adverse circumstances. In science and in art, in literature and in philanthropy, the Jew in all lands and in all times has written his name high in the temple of fame. In statesmanship and diplomacy, in law and in medicine, in ethics and philosophy, in research and discovery, the greatness of the Jew is and ever has been unchallenged. In commerce and in trade, in industry and husbandry, overcoming forces that would deter another, he has held his own in the vanguard of progress. Persecuted for thousands of years, he has surmounted all obstacles; shunned for centuries, he has kept in the very front of the higher and the better civilization. In trial and in triumph, in sunshine and in storm, in war and in peace, on land and on sea, in all eras and in all places, the Jewish race has written its enduring name, and its eternal fame, all over the pages of human history."

MR. SULZER THE FRIEND OF LABOR.

Foremost among the achievements of Mr. Sulzer's career in Congress was the passage during the session of 1912 of his bill establishing a Department of Labor with a Secretary in the Cabinet. Smiled at as a preposterous idea when Mr. Sulzer first proposed the measure—the bill finally passed unanimously.

The signing of this Department of Labor bill was the last official act of President Taft, and he did so on the personal appeal of Mr. Sulzer. The bill was first introduced by Mr. Sulzer in 1904, and was reintroduced and advocated by him in every Congress since that time. In support of the measure, on one occasion, he thus addressed the House of Representatives:

"Mr. Speaker: My bill for a Department of Labor should be a law. It is the first bill ever introduced in Congress to create a Department of Labor. It is the first attempt to systematically classify labor in an intelligent way that has ever been presented in a bill to Congress, and its enactment into law will evidence a disposition on the part of the Government to see to it that labor gets some recognition, the dignity of having a voice in the councils of State, and the opportunity to have its claims dispassionately discussed.

"Capital as well as labor should favor this Department of Labor, because it will go far to solve the labor problem and bring about industrial peace. For years this legislation has been advocated by the wage-earners of the country. The bill meets with their approbation, and has the sanction of the best thought in our land. It has been indorsed by some of the ablest thinkers, some of the wisest political economists, and many of our leading newspapers. The time is ripe, it

WM. SULZER WAS AN HONEST GOVERNOR.

(Reprinted from Speech of Gov. Sulzer—published in the Knickerbocker-Press, Albany, N. Y., Oct. 21, 1913. This speech was delivered from the balcony of "The People's House" to more than 10,000 citizens who called to express their approval of the Governor's administration.)

"As the Governor I have been honest in all things, and faithful to my trust. No influence could control me in the performance of my duty but the dictates of my conscience. I have lost my office, but I have kept my self-respect. I would rather lose the Governorship than lose my soul; I would rather be right than be Governor; and no Governor can serve God and Mammon; the State and the Special Interests; the PEOPLE and the Boss; the visible and the invisible government.

"Let us indulge the hope that my loss of the Governorship will be the people's gain. Misfortunes are often blessings in disguise. If my removal from office by an ignorant, and an arrogant, and a corrupt, and a desperate 'Boss' shall be the humble means of forever destroying 'Bossism' in the State of New York, I shall be content, and feel that I have not struggled in vain for better things."

LETTER FROM COLONEL ALEX-
ANDER S. BACON

The Eminent New York Lawyer, and the
National Chairman of the American
Party

April 15, 1916.

Mr. John E. Stephens,
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Sir—I have read your letter concerning Mr. Sulzer as the standard bearer of the reform forces of the country.

We have carefully analyzed the national situation. In view of the fact that Mr. Sulzer polled 127,600 votes for governor in 1914, as the candidate of the American Party, I know of no better man to lead the fight this year. If you know of a better man, we shall be glad to favor him, but we want a man who is known; who is popular; who can make an eloquent speaking campaign; and who can get enough voters to accentuate the issues, and give them such an impetus that victory will be sure in 1920.

Mr. Sulzer is not running after a nomination; and he is not running away from a fight. He has no illusions and no vanity. He is unselfish. He is patriotic. He is self-sacrificing. He is a broadminded statesman. He sees things political clearly. He does not want to lead if a better equipped man can be drafted. He is reluctant to be the standard bearer—because of the sacrifice of time and money necessarily entailed.

Let me tell you that I was one of Mr. Sulzer's counsel in the great fight he made, at Albany, for honest government. You

are as much in error about that struggle as you are wrong in other matters you write about. There was no evidence, legal or otherwise, that Mr. Sulzer had done wrong as the Governor of New York. His removal was a crime. Every lawyer in the State, except a Tammany lawyer, will tell you Mr. Sulzer's ouster from office was illegal and unconstitutional — in fact, anarchy. I can tell you, as a lawyer, that Mr. Sulzer could have had a million dollars, and been the Democratic candidate for President, if he would have carried out the wishes of the Bosses; the Orders of the Railroads; the decrees of the Roman Hierarchy; and the desires of the Plunderbund of Wall Street; and two hours before he was removed, he could have remained in office by simply agreeing to stop the prosecutions he instituted against the grafters. Governor Sulzer refused, and a thousand years from now he will be pictured in song and story as the greatest reform governor in the annals of the State.

You should be more careful what you write about Mr. Sulzer. You should be sure of your facts. You should not labor under the impression that Mr. Sulzer is anxious to be a candidate for any office. He retired from public life in 1915, after 26 years of faithful service in the vineyard of the people, with the approval of his conscience, and to enjoy his own self-respect. If we can get him to put on the harness again the friends of Reform will be exceedingly fortunate.

Very truly yours,

ALEXANDER S. BACON,
National Chairman American Party.

AMERICAN PARTY

Official.—Call for National Convention.

Sir:

By virtue of the power vested in me, as the Chairman of the American Party, all voters of the American Party, and all citizens who believe in our principles, regardless of past political affiliations, are hereby requested to assemble in the Congressional District in which they reside, at such time and place as they may determine, and then and there elect Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention of the American Party, hereby duly called to meet in the city of Minneapolis, Minnesota, at ten o'clock the morning of Saturday, the 22d day of July, 1916, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and to transact such other business as may properly come before the Convention.

The basis of representation has been fixed as follows: Two Delegates, and two Alternates, for each Congressional District, in each State; six Delegates and six Alternates from the District of Columbia, Alaska, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines.

The time and manner of electing these Delegates and Alternates, will be determined by our enrolled voters in the various Districts subject only to the proviso that, in every State where the Party has a State Committee, the Delegates must be chosen in such manner as the State Committee shall determine, and to conform to the laws relating thereto in said States.

Very respectfully yours,

ALEXANDER S. BACON,
Chairman.

Attest:

HOWARD R. WARNER,
Secretary.

THE AMERICAN PARTY HOLDS A MOST ENTHUSIASTIC CONVENTION

Sulzer and Parker Nominated for President
and Vice-President.

A Radical and Patriotic Platform Adopted.

(Special correspondence to the News.)

Minneapolis, July 22, 1916.—There is another Presidential ticket in the field. The American Party held a most enthusiastic convention to-day, in this city, and nominated its ticket for President and Vice-President. The convention was largely attended, and the speeches were eloquent and of a very high order.

Former Governor Wm. Sulzer, of New York, was unanimously nominated for President, and the Vice-Presidency was tendered to Col. John M. Parker, of Louisiana.

The American Party adopted, without a dissenting vote, the most radical, and the most progressive, and the most patriotic platform ever adopted by a political party in America. It reads as follows:

The American Party, in National Convention assembled, in Minneapolis, July 22, 1916, declares for God, Home and Country; the Perpetuity of the Free Institutions of America; and demands these essential reforms to further the Brotherhood of Man.

1. Peace and comity with all nations—entangling alliances with none—and the establishment of an International Court of Justice—having jurisdiction of every International Question; with ample powers to enforce its decrees, and insure the peace of the World.

2. The prohibition of the manufacture, and the sale, and the importation, and the

transportation of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes—with an administration committed to its consummation.

3. Equal suffrage to women by the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Federal Constitution; equality of all before the law; river and harbor improvements; good roads; the reclamation of desert lands; an American Merchant Marine; a more scientific system of taxation; an honest dollar; the safeguarding of American citizens at home and abroad; and an honest, and efficient, and an economical administration of public affairs—free from graft—with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

4. Human rights before property rights; the man above the dollar; the protection of those who toil; the promotion of social justice; the betterment of the home; harmony between capital and labor by a more equitable distribution of the fruits of labor; an eight-hour work day; a Civil Service based entirely on the merit system; the conservation of our natural resources; the initiative, the referendum, and the recall; the government ownership, and operation, of public utilities; simplicity and expediency in civil and criminal law procedure to secure the square deal; a uniform marriage and divorce law; the extermination of private monopoly; the prevention of the mortmain of idle wealth; the abolition of child labor in shops and factories; court review of departmental decisions; and a cheaper and more efficient parcels post.

5. A single Presidential term; preferential direct primaries for the nomination of President, Vice-President, and Senators and Representatives in Congress—together with their election directly by the voters; and

the assembling of Congress on the first Monday in January succeeding the election of the members thereof.

6. The perpetuity of our free institutions; civil and religious liberty; freedom of worship; complete separation of Church and State; no public funds for sectarian purposes; free speech; free press; free public schools; and a land of free men and free women—free from fear; free from superstition; and free from the fetters of the dead and buried past—politically, medically, economically, and industrially.

7. On this platform, and for these principles, the American Party presents to the electors of the United States as its candidate for President, Wm. Sulzer, of New York, and as its candidate for Vice-President, Col. John M. Parker, of Louisiana; and declares that their records, in the vineyard of the people, testify in tones more eloquent than words their loyalty to the public; their fitness for the office; their fidelity to these principles; their devotion to Peace, Progress, Prosperity, Patriotism, and Prohibition; and to secure their election the American Party cordially invites the co-operation of the patriotic citizens of our country regardless of past political affiliations.

FORMER GOVERNOR SULZER NOM- INATED FOR PRESIDENT.

Special Interview with the Great Reform
Governor of New York.

(Reprinted from the Press, July 23, 1916.)

"How does it feel," Mr. Sulzer was asked, "to be a Presidential candidate?"

"Well," he smiled, "I have been a candidate for public office so many times the feeling is familiar—and I take the matter philosophically. Je suis philosophe toujours."

"What will the American Party do?" inquired the reporter.

"It certainly should make a campaign for its principles, and if it does, when the votes are counted, it will not be the last in the race. The American Party is organized in several States, and in a month it can be organized in a dozen more—and then keep your eye on the fight for the plain people."

"Will Col. Parker take the nomination for Vice-President?" asked the reporter.

"I do not know," replied Mr. Sulzer; "but I hope the Colonel will accept. If he refuses, the Party will name a good man. I am a progressive through and through, and I favored a union of the Prohibition, the American, and the Progressive parties. If that had been done there would have been a good chance for success."

"Will you accept the nomination for President?" asked the reporter.

"That depends," said Mr. Sulzer: "but if I do, there will be a fighting candidate in the field, and on the best, and the most honest, and the most radical platform ever adopted, by any political party, he will move forward to challenge every candidate in the race for President."



American Party Platform 1916.

HUGHES AND FAIRBANKS FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE- PRESIDENT.

The American Party, in National Convention assembled, in Minneapolis, July 22, 1916, declares for the Perpetuity of the Free Institutions of America; and demands these essential reforms to further the Brotherhood of Man.

1. Peace and comity with all nations—entangling alliances with none—and the establishment of an International Court of Justice—having jurisdiction of every International Question, with ample powers to enforce its decrees, and insure the peace of the World.

2. Equal suffrage to women by the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Federal Constitution; equality of all before the law; river and harbor improvements; good roads; the reclamation of desert lands; an American Merchant Marine; a more scientific system of taxation; an honest dollar; the safeguarding of American citizens at home and abroad; and an honest, and an efficient, and an economical administration of public affairs—free from graft—with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

3. Human rights before property rights: the man above the dollar; the protection of those who toil; the promotion of social justice; the betterment of the home; harmony between capital and labor by a more



equitable distribution of the fruits of labor; a Civil Service based entirely on the merit system; the conservation of our natural resources; the initiative, the referendum, and the recall; the government ownership, and operation, of public utilities; simplicity and expediency in civil and criminal law procedure to secure the square deal; a uniform marriage and divorce law; the extermination of private monopoly; the prevention of the mortmain of idle wealth; the abolition of child labor in shops and factories; court review of departmental decisions; and a cheaper and more efficient parcels post.

4. A single Presidential term; preferential direct primaries for the nomination of President, Vice-President, and Senators and Representatives in Congress—together with their election directly by the voters; and the assembling of Congress on the first Monday in January succeeding the election of the members thereof.

5. On this platform, and for these principles, the American Party presents to the electors of the United States as its candidate for President, Charles E. Hughes, of New York, and as its candidate for Vice-President, Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana; and declares that their records, in the vineyard of the people, testify in tones more eloquent than words their loyalty to the public; their fitness for the office; their fidelity to American principles; their devotion to Peace, Progress, Protection, Prosperity, and Patriotism; and to secure their election the American Party cordially invites the co-operation of the patriotic citizens of our country regardless of past political affiliations.

Attest:

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Secretary to the Convention.

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AMERICAN PARTY.

Headquarters:

Broadway Central Hotel,
675 Broadway,
New York City.

Vote for Hughes and Whitman under the
American Party Emblem, the Liberty Bell.
Do not fail to enroll as an American.

READ THESE RESOLUTIONS:

At a general conference, of the American Party, duly called, and attended by its leading members, National, State, and City—all the members of the Executive Committee being present—held at its headquarters, in the Broadway Central Hotel, 675 Broadway, New York City, Monday night, the 9th day of October, 1916, the following resolutions were considered and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, the American Party in National Convention, assembled, in Minneapolis, the 22d day of July, 1916, nominated Wm. Sulzer, of New York, for President, and John M. Parker, of Louisiana, for Vice-President, and

WHEREAS, the said Wm. Sulzer, and the said John M. Parker, have declined such nominations; and

WHEREAS, said convention duly adopted a resolution that in case of such declinations the vacancies shall be filled by a majority vote of the Executive Committee of said American Party; now therefore be it:

RESOLVED, that the American Party, in general conference assembled, and by the unanimous vote of its National Committee; its State Committee, and its Executive Committee—a majority of each committee being

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present—hereby nominates and selects as its national candidates, in the present campaign, Charles E. Hughes, of New York, for President; and Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, for Vice-President; and hereby pledges the American Party, and all its members, and all those who believe in and adhere to its principles, to vote for the said national candidates, and to do all in their power to secure their election; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the officers of the American Party take such action in the premises as they deem expedient to place an electoral ticket, on the official ballot, under the emblem of the American Party—the Liberty Bell.

BELA TOKAJI,

Attest:

Chairman.

BELMONT EPHRAIM,
Secretary.

STATEMENT BY MR. TOKAJI.

"These resolutions," said Bela Tokaji, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Party, "speak for themselves, and mean that the American Party will do its utmost to elect Hughes and Fairbanks—because we believe their election will vindicate fundamental American principles and promote the general welfare of our Government.

"In the present crisis we regard it a patriotic duty for every true blue American to vote for Hughes, and do all that can be done to secure his election—and we say this advisedly and regardless of past party affiliations. We want America to be First;

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we want America to be Free; but we want America to be America—and loyal to the fundamental principles of the Fathers.

"We shall make a hard fight in New York for Hughes, Fairbanks, and Whitman. We will poll for them not less than 50,000 votes.

"Former Governor Wm. Sulzer, who polled 127,600 votes on our ticket in 1914, will take the stump for the candidates, and make speeches in New York and other pivotal States."

Be an American!

Vote for Hughes.

Vote for Whitman.

Vote for Calder.

Vote the Liberty Bell Ticket.

Beat Boss Murphy. Seabury is Murphy's candidate. Wilson gave Murphy 82 per cent. of the New York State appointments. The way to Beat Murphy is to Beat Murphy's candidates.

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"My friends, in view of the 127,600 votes polled by the American Party—under its emblem—the Liberty Bell—in the last State Campaign, no apology is necessary for its activity in this campaign. In the last analysis this campaign means, which candidate, if elected, is best fitted for the office, and can best serve the people. The American Party is for that candidate.

"The American Party stands for good government; for decent citizenship; for a square deal; for the rights of the people; for the dignity of labor; for woman's suffrage; for the Social Welfare; for the ideals of Patriotic America; and for the perpetuation of the free institutions of the Fathers.

"The politicians—wise and otherwise—know the American Party is the party of the plain people, and will continue to fight the battle of the taxpayers for honest government; to destroy corrupt bossism; and to abolish the iniquitous system of bipartisan graft, called Fifty-Fifty, by which taxation is doubled, and the few wax fat at the expense of the many.

"The American Party asserts that the Democracy of New York cannot succeed, and does not deserve to succeed, under the deplorable leadership of Boss Murphy, which constitutes an affront to decent citizenship; a challenge to honest government; a menace to Democratic supremacy; and a despotism of depravity, from an ethical-political viewpoint, worse than anything known in autocratic Russia."

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WHAT MR. HENNESSY SAID:

"No one better than I knows that had Governor Sulzer agreed not to execute his oath of office he would be unchallenged in his place as the Executive, no matter what other bitterness might be displayed against his independence of boss control. His inflexible determination to go after all the looters and his purpose to begin with the indictment of Bart Dunn, a member of the State Committee from Tammany Hall, ended all relations with the Organization. Then the savagery of removal from office took life in the Delmonico Conference held by Charles F. Murphy. 'It's his life, or ours,' was the way they put it."—From the official report of Commissioner Jno. A. Hennessy.

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"I can tell you, as a lawyer, that Mr. Sulzer could have had a million dollars, and been the Democratic candidate for President, if he would have carried out the wishes of the Bosses; the Orders of the Railroads; and the desires of the Plunderbund of Wall Street; and two hours before he was removed, he could have remained in office by simply agreeing to stop the prosecutions he instituted against the grafters. Governor Sulzer refused, and a thousand years from now he will be pictured in song and story as the greatest reform Governor in the annals of the State."—From speech in Brooklyn, Oct. 27, 1915.

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EMBLEM PROHIBITION PARTY



THE FOUNTAIN

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF FORMER
GOVERNOR SULZER AT WATER-
TOWN, N. Y., TUESDAY
NIGHT, AUG. 18, 1914.

"When they tell you I have accepted the nomination for Governor of the Prohibition Party, you admit it, and say that I shall carry the Prohibition Standard to Victory. Tell them I stand squarely on the Prohibition Platform; that it is one of the most intelligent and progressive platforms ever promulgated; and that Prohibition will do more for the Social and the General Welfare, than any other agency in America.

"When they ask you why I am for Prohibition, you tell them—that Prohibition is a principle; that it is the only solution of the evils of intemperance; that you cannot compromise a principle; that we refuse to temporize with vice; that Prohibition is either right or wrong; that I know it is right, and that every law-abiding citizen in the land should be for it.

"Tell them I have carefully studied the proposition; that I believe Prohibition is an issue in this campaign; and if properly presented to the voters it will sweep our State just as it has swept other States.

"I want the Government to get out of the liquor traffic. I want to root out the evil. Prohibition will do it. I want to divorce the Government from its co-partnership with John Barleycorn. I am for the Cause, and behind the Cause I want to put every Church, and every School, and every Home in the State.

"The friends of good government are with us in this fight. I want every man in the State who is opposed to the evils Prohibition will destroy, to come to my support, and if he will do so victory will crown our efforts. I shall do my part. To that end I summon every man who believes in the Cause to now do his part, or forever hold his peace.

"You know, and I know, that for every dollar the Government gets from its association with the liquor business, it costs the taxpayers at least one thousand dollars to maintain Courts and Juries; prisons and lunatic asylums, alms houses and orphan asylums. If I were asked to sum up in a single word the cause of more than seven-tenths of all the woes and wants; of all the trials and troubles; of all the crimes and miseries; of all the groans and tears of forlorn men, and weeping women, and orphaned children, I would sum it up in that short word R-U-M—RUM—which menaces the progress of the race, and challenges the advance of civilization."

EMBLEM AMERICAN PARTY
THE LIBERTY BELL



MR. SULZER'S PLATFORM.

1. Beat the Bosses.
2. Stop the Stealing.
3. Get the Grafters.
4. Take Care of the Taxpayers.
5. Give Labor a Lift, and a Square Deal to All.
6. Prevent the Pollution of the Courts of Justice.
7. Promote the Social, and the General Welfare, and All Progressive Legislation.
8. Perpetuate Our Free Institutions; Free Speech; Free Press; Free Schools; Free Homes.
9. Enforce Equal Rights to All, and Stop Special Privileges to Any One.
10. Fight for Prohibition; fight for the Better Day. Make Mankind Free—Free from Fear; Free from Fetters; Free from the Fetish of the Past; Free Medically; Free Politically; Free Economically; Free Industrially.

THE PASSPORT QUESTION.

WHAT WILL RUSSIA DO?

By Hon. Wm. Sulzer.

Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
House of Representatives.

Congressman William Sulzer of New York City, whose stirring discussion of the Russian Treaty outrage, and whose resolution abrogated the Treaty, is one of the leading Democrats of the present time, though his years number less than fifty.

He is a native of New Jersey, having been born in Elizabeth, March 18th, 1863. At twenty-one he was admitted to the bar, and six years later his political career began with his entrance into the New York legislature, where he served five years---the last as Speaker of the Assembly.

In 1894 he was first elected to Congress from the Tenth District, and he has since continued to represent that district in the National House of Representatives. For years he has been one of the most forceful speakers in the House, and his activities have always been on the side of the people.

His Americanism is no where better typified than in his present attitude toward Russia. As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House, he has been the moving spirit in the recent activities which lead to the abrogation of the Treaty of 1832.---Editor's Note.

The Russian Treaty of 1832 will be dead the first day of next January. My resolution did that; and no patriotic American doubts that Congress was justified in abrogating it.

The American people, through their representatives in Congress, decided to put an end to Russia's unjust treatment of certain American citizens, which has been going on now for nearly forty years, in plain violation of the Treaty of 1832 between the two governments.

This language is not too strong to apply to a modern government which claims to rank among civilized states, yet the facts in the case would justify the use of even stronger terms.

These are the facts.

On December 18th, 1832, there was concluded in St. Petersburg,

between the United States of America and Russia, a Treaty, the first article of which reads as follows:

There shall be between the territories of the high contracting parties a reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation. The inhabitants of their respective states shall mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places and rivers of the territories of each party, wherever foreign commerce is permitted. They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories, in order to attend to their affairs, and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside!

For nearly half a century this important provision of the Treaty was lived up to by the Russian Government, and citizens of the United States rarely if ever complained of any violation thereof.

About four decades ago, however, Russia began to put up bars against certain classes of our citizens.

It refused to recognize passports issued by our State Department, when such passports were presented by Jews, Roman Catholic priests and Protestant missionaries.

Despite the most earnest efforts of our diplomacy, exercised in behalf of proscribed American citizens, despite continued insistence upon observance of the Treaty provisions by a long succession of our most distinguished statesmen, she has persisted in her course.

She has disregarded the First Article of the Treaty, as above quoted, by flatly declining to honor passports issued by our State Department to American citizens of the Jewish Faith. Such passports has simply been waste paper.

During the past twenty years her course in this regard has grown more and more unbearable. Practically sneering at the strongest protests lodged by successive Secretaries of States, she has broadened her sphere of discrimination until further toleration of her arrogance would on our part have been neglect of human and political rights and the acceptance of national inferiority.

I use these strong terms advisedly, because Russia has denied to Jewish citizens of the United States the rights she has accorded to Jewish

citizens of other treaty powers. There is now a studied attempt to falsify history in this respect. An English, French, German or Austrian Jewish merchant or commercial traveller can get his passport vised. In the United States, this has not been the case. The Embassy, as well as the Consulates, have obstinately adhered to the doctrine that they had the right to refuse the vise to all American Jews, whether native or naturalized, whether commercial men or mere pleasure-travellers. In this respect all Russian officials in this country, from the Ambassador down, have exercised a deliberate discrimination against some of our countrymen.

Any statements contrary to this, no matter how high the authority that utters them, are simply false. Her officials have been offensively consistent in refusing the vise to all American Jews.

Realizing the futility of seeking to better conditions through diplomatic intercourse---extreme efforts to this end having been made during the last seven years---and feeling sure of the support of every true American citizen, I introduced in the House of Representatives on December 15th, last, a joint resolution providing for the abrogation of the Treaty of 1832 because of the violation of that Treaty---repeated and insistent violation, I might say.

That resolutin was as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race or religion; that the Government of the United States concludes its Treaties for the equal protection of all classes of its citizens; that the Government of the United States will not be a party to any Treaty which discriminates, or which by one of the parties thereto is so construed as to discriminate, between American citizens on the ground of race or religion; that the Government of Russia has violated the treaty between the United States and Russia, concluded at St. Petersburg, December eighteenth, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, refusing to honor American passports duly issued to American citizens, on account of race and religion; that in the judgment of the Congress the said treaty, for the reasons aforesaid, ought to be terminated at the earliest possible time; that for the aforesaid reasons the said treaty is hereby declared to be terminated and of no further force

and effect from the expiration of one year after the date of notification to the Government of Russia of the terms of this resolution, and that to this end the President is hereby charged with the duty of communicating such notice to the Government of Russia.

As evidence that I had not wrongly gauged public sentiment, this resolution was passed by the House by the remarkable vote of 300 to 1.

Such a vote, one would have thought, would be a notice to the Russian Government that in the minds of the American people, the exclusion of American Jews from Russia is viewed as an affront to American citizenship.

As a matter of fact, I believe the American people look upon it as something more than national. I believe they regard it as vitally affecting human rights.

The events of the week following the introduction of my resolution show that I had not mistaken the temper of our people.

On Thursday, December 14th, the resolution, as adopted by the House, was presented to the Senate and referred by the Vice-President to the Committee on Foreign Relations, by which body it was taken under consideration without delay.

On Sunday, December 17th, the eve of the seventy-ninth anniversary of the concluding of the Treaty in St. Petersburg, four days after the passage of the resolution by the House and while it was still pending in the Senate, President Taft sent a cable to the American ambassador at St. Petersburg, directing him to present to the Russian Government the formal notice, mentioned in the House resolution, to the effect that the United States desired to terminate the Treaty of 1832.

The day following, the President sent to the Senate a message regarding this subject, in which, among other things, he said he had directed the American ambassador to say to the Russian Government that, "this ancient treaty is no longer responsive to the needs of the political relations of the two countries, which grow constantly more important. The treaty has also given rise from time to time to certain controversies, equally regretted by both Governments."

Though this is the language of diplomacy, it is full of significance. Not only does the President squarely imply that the controversies engendered

by the treaty have exhausted the patience of the American people, but he goes a step further by the plain intimation that even if the treaty were more broadly construed than heretofore and such constructions were lived up to by Russia, this would not be satisfactory.

Herein lies the assertion by the United States that when it has naturalized as citizens, a large class of foreign immigrants who have been incorporated into our nationality, it will not suffer the nations who have driven them forth to question that citizenship or our right to protect them. This is an emphatic reassertion of our Act of Congress which declares the voluntary expatriation of men to be a human right, an Act of Congress whose principles after much diplomatic fencing, have, in the way of treaties with us, been acquiesced in by the great civilized states of Europe.

It is, furthermore, notice to Russia that while we are anxious to live in amity with her, any new treaty to be framed, must not be the mere dictatorial expression of Russia's political principles, but must pay heed to the reasonable desire of the United States to vindicate its own principles; that between great and powerful nations, treaties involve concessions and that if these be refused, it is better to stand on the general law of nations than to yield national self-respect.

Before this Presidential communication was read to the Senate, however, the House resolution had been presented, and on Tuesday, December 19th, the Senate passed my resolution, in substance, though its form was slightly amended, and the next day at my earnest solicitation, the amended resolution was concurred in by the House.

So the Treaty of 1832, which for many years Russia had flagrantly violated, will become null and void after midnight of December 31st, 1912. Whether we shall then be without a treaty with Russia will depend upon that Government. That the United States is ready, as it always has been, to make a new and a just treaty, goes without saying.

The few who have criticised this action on the part of the Congress are either not aware of the political actual facts or are actuated by mere prejudice or by the fear of decreased business through the rupture of commercial relations between the two countries. Their objections are convincing proofs of the rightness of the action taken.

After the House of Representatives has passed the patriotic resolution

to terminate the treaty, a story was sent broadcast by the press of the country that Russia objected to the wording of the Sulzer resolution.

Administration agencies were responsible for this story, which was given out for political effect.

The story had no foundation; in fact, Russia did not object to the words of the Sulzer resolution directly or indirectly, formally or informally, either in St. Petersburg or Washington.

In this connection let me call attention to a letter from Melville E. Stone, General Manager of the Associated Press, which is as follows:

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

General Offices, 195 Broadway
New York City.

January 4th, 1912.

Hon. Wm. Sulzer,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Sulzer: I have your letter of January 3rd and note contents. It is quite true that in a dispatch dated Washington, December 16th, The Associated Press was led to say that the Russian Government had protested against the House resolution through Ambassador Baldomareff. But on December 16th we carried and transmitted to the American newspapers a rather lengthy dispatch from Washington, quoting Secretary Knox as saying that Russia had not protested either "against the abrogation of the treaty or against the language of the Sulzer resolution." So it seems to me that we have already clarified the situation as well as it is possible for us to do so.

With all good wishes, I am, as ever,

Sincerely yours,

Melville E. Stone,

General Manager.

It is not probable that Russia will in the long run be so blind to her own interest as to refuse to make a new treaty. How long it may be before she concludes that such a treaty must guarantee, explicitly and without exception, like treatment of all American citizens, is a problem which the future only can solve.

As I said on the floor of Congress I reiterate here that the seal of the United States on a certificate of citizenship must render it valid and make it acceptable, by all governments throughout the world.

Whatever else does or does not happen, this must be. In the future, as in the past, I shall fight for the rights of our citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad.

Our guarantee of citizenship must be accepted without any question as to race or religion of the holder thereof---indeed, without any question whatever.

The duty of this nation to vindicate the rights and the equality of all its citizens must be asserted and maintained regardless of financial or commercial considerations.

The whole question of Russian exclusion of Jewish citizens of this country involves the acquiescence by our government in policies which we left behind in the year 1776.

The Government of the United States has declared it a fundamental principle that all men are equal before the law, regardless of race or religion. It makes no distinction based on the creeds or birthplaces of its citizens, nor can it consistently permit such distinction to be made by any foreign power; and I solemnly declare that the rights of our citizens at home or abroad shall not be impaired on account of race or religion.

Not the religion, or the race of man, but his American citizenship is the true test of the treatment he must receive and the rights he shall enjoy under the law at home and abroad.

Absolute freedom of religious belief---the unmolested right to worship one's Maker according to the dictates of conscience---is one of the chief cornerstones of our national existence. It was for this freedom that the Fathers braved the perils of the deep and the uncertainties of a savage land.

So jealous of this liberty were the framers of the Constitution that they wrote in that epochal document:

Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

This great principle of religious freedom must be maintained inviolate forever.

If there be a nation whose commercial trade or political friendship

cannot be procured without sacrificing the priceless heritage, then we must stand by our principle and sacrifice commercial rights to human rights.

Our Government has been extremely patient and remarkably resourceful, yet, never at any time was there the least prospect of accomplishing anything by even the ablest diplomatic methods, Russia has acted as if she thought either that the United States was not serious in its demands, or that its express wishes were merely negligible and unworthy of consideration. To the whole world, through Russia, we now make it plain that there is with us nothing so serious as violation of the right of American citizens; that the Jew who espouses this government as his must be received on exactly the same basis as any other citizen.

The Revised Statutes of the United States declare, in Section 2,000 of the Act of 1868, that:

"All naturalized citizens of the United States, while in foreign countries, and entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens."

This is the sovereign law of the land. It was at the bottom of my resolution, and I hope the moving spirit of the notice of the desire of this government to terminate the treaty of 1832.

Will Russia make a new treaty in accord with the above fundamental proposition? I answer yes, and ere the end of the year my judgment will be vindicated.



Lest We Forget!

*"The tumult of the Campaign dies,
The Bosses and their Tools depart,
Yet _____?"*

READ ALL OF THIS PAM-
PHLET IF YOU WANT
TO KNOW THE TRUTH.



ISSUED BY
The American Party
Headquarters, Broadway Central Hotel,
675 Broadway, New York City.



LEST WE FORGET!

The American Party is for Charles E. Hughes for President—because Charles E. Hughes is an American through and through—and stands four-square, open and above board, for the fundamental principles of the Fathers. Do you understand?

The American Party is for Charles S. Whitman for Governor—because, all things considered, he has been The Governor—and his administration is Whitman's administration—and not some other man's administration. Do you understand?

The American Party believes it is better to elect a man Governor, who will execute the office of Governor, than to elect a man Governor, who will let some other man execute the office of Governor. Do you understand?

The American Party is against Samuel Seabury for Governor—because Seabury is a Murphy man, and if he were elected Governor, Boss Murphy will execute the office, and Seabury's administration will be Murphy's administration—like unto the late Dix and Glynn. Shall we forget?

Do not forget Governor Sulzer! Do not forget that if Seabury were elected, and endeavored to execute the office, like Sulzer did, Murphy would remove Seabury like he removed Sulzer.

The American Party is a truly Democratic Party—but it believes that the Democracy of New York does not deserve success—and should not succeed, until it rids itself of the malign influence, and the dictatorial Bosship, of Charles F. Murphy—of Tammany Hall—and Delmonico's.

The American Party is opposed to Woodrow Wilson for President—because he has demonstrated his unfitness for the position; because he has sacrificed at Home and Abroad American Rights; because he has played fast and loose with great national and international matters; because he has been a sectional President; because he is the greatest opportunist in our history; because he repudiated the most important planks in the Baltimore platform; because he has gone out of his way to insult half the population of his country; because he fails to realize a fundamental principle of our Government—that the President is not the Master of the people, but the Servant of the people; because he has neglected to protect the lives and the property of American citizens at Home and Abroad; because of his truckling to Tammany, his subserviency to Murphy, and his contempt for the men who elected him in 1912; and finally because he urged Governor Sulzer to fight “Murphyism” in the State of New York, and promised to support the “Governor” against the “Boss” in the Governor’s efforts to carry out Democratic Pledges; but when the fight got hot the President went over to Murphy; and when the grafters were burning “Our Governor” at the Political Stake Woodrow Wilson turned his back to the fire, parted his coat-tails and warmed himself.

These are facts! Do you understand?
Let us remember—lest we forget!

AMERICAN PARTY.

Dated, New York, Oct. 9, 1916.

LET US CONSIDER THE TRUTH.

Former Governor William Sulzer said: "The only way to beat the Boss is to beat the candidates of the Boss."

There is nothing truer in present day politics.

No Boss can survive three successive defeats. Three strikes and out.

You know Boss Murphy controls, and dominates, the Democratic machine in the State of New York—and that he is working for the Boss every day in the year. He designates and nominates the Democratic ticket. He arrogantly tells decent Democrats to vote it, or not, as they please.

Every candidate on the Democratic State ticket, except Judge Jenks, is a Murphy man—and was O.K'D. by Murphy. No matter what these candidates say now, to get your votes, you know if they are elected, they must surrender their convictions to Murphy—or meet the fate of Sulzer; and do not forget Sulzer was brave enough to say: "I would rather be right than be Governor," and sooner than surrender his principles, to the Boss, he gave back to the people the office of Governor. But where can we find another Sulzer?

If you vote for the Democratic candidates, of the Boss, you vote for Boss Murphy, and to confirm his boss-ship. If his candidates are elected, he wins, and the office holder, from Governor down to Assemblyman, must do what the Boss tells him to

do, or the Boss "orders" the officeholder disciplined, or removed.

The Boss is the last bulwark of predatory plutocracy.

The Boss is the challenge of the forces of corruption to decent citizenship and civic righteousness.

The Boss must go! We shall never have decent Democratic government in the State of New York until Murphy's boss-ship is thrown on the political scrap-heap.

The Democratic candidates are the Murphy candidates. If you want to get rid of the sinister boss-ship of Murphy, you must vote against the candidates of Murphy. There's no other way.

We beat Murphy in the city election in 1913—and he would not get out. We beat him again in the State election in 1914—and he would not get out. We must beat him the third time this year—to get rid of his malignant control and deplorable influence next year. This is the only hope for true Democracy in the State of New York.

What shall we do about it? There is only one answer:

Be true to your principles—beat the ticket of the Boss—and throw the Jonah overboard!

THE AMERICAN PARTY.



When you get through reading this pamphlet preserve it or pass it on. Do not throw it away. Someone else wants to read it.

**READ THIS GREAT SPEECH OF WM.
SULZER WHO WAS THE PEOPLE'S
GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.**

**Delivered in the Broadway Theatre, New
York City, October 26, 1913.**

(Stenographically reported, and issued by
the National Democratic League of
Clubs.)

Going Back to Albany

Mr. Sulzer spoke as follows:

"In view of the request in writing of more than half of the registered voters in the Sixth Assembly District, regardless of party affiliations, asking me to accept the nomination for Member of Assembly, to further the cause of honest government, I have consented to take the nomination; and shall go back to Albany, for the good that I can do.

"I appreciate the confidence reposed in me of my old neighbors and constituents, and no words of mine can tell them how grateful I am for their support and unwavering loyalty.

"I am an independent candidate, having no axe to grind, and no purpose to serve, other than to do what I can for the cause of good government, the struggle for which, at Albany, brought about my removal from the Governorship by an arrogant Boss—whose dictates to do wrong I defied.

"I shall go back to the Legislature, as the representative of the plain people, to aid the cause that lacks assistance; to fight the wrongs that need resistance; for the future in the distance, and the good that I can do.

Removal Unconstitutional

"Every lawyer in the State, except a Tammany lawyer, will tell you that my trial was illegal, and my removal from office unconstitutional. The Murphy Court of Infamy was a travesty on Justice—a burlesque on judicial procedure. The rules of evidence were thrown to the winds.

"The law of the State declares, that the Governor can only be removed for wilful and corrupt misconduct in office. There was no charge against me of wilful and corrupt misconduct in office—and Mr. Murphy spent, through the Frawley Committee, nearly half a million dollars of the taxpayers' money, in a futile effort to get something on me, but he could not prove, with all the money, and all the agencies at his command, that I had done wrong in office, or out of office, directly or indirectly. My record was searched by sleuths and detectives, paid for by Murphy, out of the pockets of the taxpayers, from the time I was born, and Tammany could not prove, during all my eventful career, that I had ever wronged a man, or a woman, or a child.

"Then you must not forget that the Constitution of the State declares that in an Extraordinary Session of the Legislature, no subject can be considered, except a subject recommended by the Governor. I called the Legislature together, in Extraordinary Session, for the purpose of enacting an honest and an official direct nominations law—and for no other purpose. I certainly did not recommend my own removal; but notwithstanding this Constitutional prohibition, the Legislature in violation of the Constitution, recommended my removal from office. This was done at the dictation of

Boss Murphy. What does Murphy care about the Constitution?

"My friends advised me not to call an Extraordinary Session of the Legislature, but I was so anxious to make good—so determined to carry out the pledges of the Democratic platform, regarding direct nominations—that I did call the Extraordinary Session, in the face of the knowledge that it gave Murphy the weapon he desired to oust me from the Governorship.

A Star Chamber Proceeding.

"The revolutionary proceedings, in the Murphy Court of Infamy, show that I was removed from office for an alleged something they said I did, or forgot to do, before I became Governor; and the Court resorted to the convenient expedient of going into secret session, behind closed doors, and by a majority vote, overriding the law and the Constitution of the State, and putting in the record everything Murphy wanted to put in, and keeping out of the record everything Murphy wanted to keep out—a Star Chamber proceeding that disgraced the State, and made a laughing farce of the law and the Constitution. Whenever my lawyers offered testimony to disprove the framed-up charges of Mr. Murphy, the Murphy Court went into secret session, behind closed doors, and by a majority vote, excluded it. Whenever incompetent, irrelevant, inadmissible, and perjured testimony was offered against me, no matter how ridiculous, no matter how remote, no matter how flimsy, the Murphy Court went into secret session, behind closed doors, and by a majority vote, agreed to put it in the record, in order to try to blacken my character, and to prejudice my

case in the estimation of the public. The whole proceeding, from beginning to end, was revolutionary, and in violation of the law, and the Constitution, of the State. The record proves it. No one can successfully assert to the contrary. I am the only man in the history of the world removed from a great elective office for something they say I omitted to do, after I was born, and before I was elected—and sworn into office—and even this flimsy and far-fetched charge was shown to be false.

"The Murphy Court was a Court of only limited jurisdiction, under the Constitution, but it overrode the law, and the precedents, and the Constitution—assumed jurisdiction of everything on earth—and did the dirty work of the Boss, behind closed doors, in secret Star Chamber fashion.

Murphy's High Court of Infamy.

"The people know that I was removed from the Governorship because Mr. Murphy controlled the Assembly, and ordered my removal when he found out I would not be a rubber stamp. He controlled most of the members of The High Court of Infamy; dictated its procedure, and wrote the judgment. Murphy was the Judge and the Jury; the Prosecutor and the Bailiff.

"They called it the High Court of Impeachment, but history will call it Murphy's High Court of Infamy. The trial was a human shambles; a libel on law; a flagrant invasion of constitutional rights; a disgrace to our civilization; and the verdict overturned the safeguards of liberty and the precedents of three centuries.

"The Judgment will not stand the test of time. The future historian will do me justice.

The Court of Public Opinion.

"There is a higher Court than Murphy's—the Court of Public Opinion. I appeal from the verdict of Murphy's Court of Political Passion to the calmer judgment of posterity, and the sober reflection of Public Opinion.

"When I refused to obey the orders of the Boss to stop the investigations of Blake and Hennessy, and to clog the wheels of the machinery of justice, which I set in motion to prevent the further looting of the State, Mr. Murphy threatened me with removal from office.

"From that day to this, all that money, all that power, and all that influence can do to destroy me has been done.

"However, I shall keep up the struggle for honest government; I am in the fight to stay to the end; and the forces of righteousness, sooner or later, will prevail over the forces of iniquity.

'Let those who have failed take courage
Tho' the enemy seems to have won,
Tho' the Bosses are strong, if they be in the
wrong.

The battle is not yet done;
For as sure as the morning follows
The darkest hour of the night,
No struggle is ever settled
Until it is settled right.'

"The record will show that no man, in all the history of this country, has ever sacrificed more than I have for the cause of good government. But I am content. Justice will triumph. I shall be patient.

"Now, another thing. The 'Chief,' and his wax figures, said that my campaign statement was erroneous. It was tes-

tified on the trial, and not contradicted, that I did not make up that statement; that I did not read it; that I asked if it was correct; that I was told it was as correct as it could be made; and that then I signed it. That is all I had to do with it, and I have not seen the statement from that day to this.

"The evidence showed that about \$27,000 was donated to me while I was a candidate for Governor; of this sum \$10,000 went to Murphy; \$15,000 to Delaney, and the balance to the Wilson Campaign Committee. I did not make a dollar as a candidate for office. That is the truth; and that is all there is to it. Instead of making money, the record shows I borrowed money, and that I refused to accept contributions from contractors, corporations, and the Special Interests.

"Mr. Murphy knew more about my campaign affairs than I did, because the men he had around me, from the time I was nominated until I went to Albany, knew everything that was going on and kept Mr. Murphy advised.

"They say Mr. Murphy took a leading part in making up the statement last fall of the Democratic State Committee. I want to ask him if the statement of the Democratic State Committee is correct? He knows about it. Let him tell us if that is correct. Let him tell about the money the "bagmen" collected and what was done with it.

Murphy Offered to Destroy Campaign Statement.

"The Secretary of State has been notified not to let that campaign statement get out of his office. Mr. Murphy threatened me

about my campaign statement, and intimated that it would disappear from the files of the Secretary of State, if I would take 'orders.' Of course I refused to be a party to such an iniquity. Knowing what I do I hope the campaign statement of the Democratic State Committee will not disappear from the official files of the Secretary of State. They say Mr. Murphy put the names of a lot of dummies in that statement, as contributors, who never contributed a dollar. How about that, Mr. Murphy?

"How preposterous it is for Murphy to remove me from the Governorship because the men the Boss had around me made up my statement of campaign funds, while the statement he and his lieutenants made for the Democratic State Committee is ten times more incorrect. What a farce it all is! Does Boss Murphy expect to get away with it? Does the Boss think the people have lost their senses, and will vote for Mr. Murphy's ticket when Murphy removed from office the Governor the people elected?

Removed from Office Because He Would Not Do Wrong

"The people know that my removal from office by Mr. Murphy was because I would not be a 'proxy' Governor; because I would not be dishonest; because I insisted on stopping graft; because I stood by the taxpayers; because I would not do wrong; because I would not do what Mr. Murphy wanted me to do; because I would not be a Murphy tool; and because I refused to be a party to the looting of the State.

"The voters will answer Mr. Murphy on Election Day. They will tell the Boss what they think of him. The best way the voters

can express their indignation about my removal from office, and their desire for honesty in State affairs, is to vote against every candidate on the Tammany ticket from top to bottom. That is the way to beat the 'Chief.'

Murphyism Must Go.

"Murphyism must go, or our free institutions are doomed! No man, and no official, can serve Murphy and the People; the 'Chief' and the State; if he is true to Murphy he must be false to Duty; he cannot be loyal to the one without betraying the other.

"The way to beat the 'Boss' is to beat the candidates of the 'Boss.' The Murphy ticket should be defeated in the interests of good government, and for the general welfare. Murphyism must go! It is a disgrace to the State.

Tammany a Blot.

"Tammany, under Murphyism, is treason to the Government; Tammany, under Murphyism, is not a political organization—it is a criminal conspiracy to loot the city and the State; a stumbling block to Democracy and to Progress; a big black blot on the fair escutcheon of the Empire State; and a menace to civic righteousness and honest government.

The Brady \$25,000.

"Mr. Murphy has taken several days to answer my charges about the Anthony N. Brady \$25,000, which I refused from Judge Beardsley, and which Judge Beardsley then gave to Mr. Murphy, and which the 'Chief' never accounted for.

"Mr. Murphy says now he gave it back to Brady, but Brady is dead and can't corroborate Murphy. Was anybody with them when the money was paid back? Judge

Beardsley took the money to Murphy in bills.

Did Murphy Give It Back?

"Why didn't Murphy give the money back to Beardsley? Were there any witnesses present, so that Judge Beardsley can feel sure that the money he gave Murphy was turned back to Brady? Will Judge Beardsley take Murphy's word for it? Why don't you ask Judge Beardsley what he thinks of Murphy's story? It is to laugh.

"Everybody knows that Brady and Murphy were not on speaking terms. Let Murphy make an affidavit that he paid the money back to Brady, stating the circumstances of the payment in detail.

"Let Murphy make his affidavit, too, that he did not get the \$10,000 Allan Ryan sent to me during the campaign. If he did not get the Ryan \$10,000, who kept it, and where does he think it went? Has Murphy's bagman been robbing him?

Where Did He Get It?

"Will Mr. Murphy be good enough to give the name of the lawyer who prepared his statement in reply to my charges? Mr. Murphy could not do it. Who did? The people should know. If you believe what Murphy says you must believe that he is in politics For His Health.

"Anybody who believes that Murphy is not a broker in public offices may possibly believe that Murphy did not send McCall to me begging for offices.

Murphy Deals In Jobs.

"Murphy is in politics for all there is in it. He is a dealer in jobs and contracts—and not in the game for his health. They say he is worth \$15,000,000.00. WHERE DID HE GET IT?

A VOICE: "You didn't get a square deal."

Mr. Sulzer: "No, I did not have a 'Chinaman's chance' in Murphy's Court. Everybody knows that my trial, from beginning to end, was a farce—a political lynching—the consummation of a deep-laid political conspiracy. The Murphy Court ruled in everything against me, and ruled out everything in my favor. The rules of evidence were thrown to the winds. A horsethief, in frontier days, would have received a squarer deal. In my removal from the Governorship, by Boss Murphy, the State witnessed the most monstrous perversion of government in all its history.

The Removal Farce.

"Mr. Murphy, and the Special Interests, which I antagonized, have won a temporary victory; but the fight—for honest government—will go on. The farce of my trial will have a good effect in the end. It has opened the eyes of the people to the graft of millions of dollars annually, and it will hasten the adoption of the initiative and the referendum; bring about the recall of public officials; and write upon the statute books other reforms, especially a direct primary law, so that the voters, instead of the bosses, will nominate, as well as elect, all officials to public office. The people now know that the power to nominate public officials is the power to control these public officials; and that we cannot have honest government in the State of New York until the voters nominate and control all public officials.

Was an Honest Governor.

"As the Governor I have been honest in all things, and faithful to my trust. No

influence could control me in the performance of my duty but the dictates of my conscience. I have lost my office, but I have kept my self-respect. I would rather lose the Governorship than lose my soul; I would rather be Right than be Governor; and no Governor can serve God and Mammon; the State and the Special Interests; the PEOPLE and the Boss; the Visible and the Invisible government.

"Let us indulge the hope that my loss of the Governorship will be the people's gain. Misfortunes are often blessings in disguise. If my undoing by an ignorant and an arrogant and a desperate 'Boss' shall be the humble means of forever destroying 'Bossism' in the State of New York, I shall be content, and feel that I have not struggled in vain for better things.

Murphy is Rattled.

"In this campaign Mr. Murphy is rattled; he knows his ticket is beaten; his statement in reply to my charges is feeble, and it is all too bad for Tammany.

"Mr. Murphy wants us to believe that he was turning away money. That will make the braves laugh. I have asked Mr. Murphy to tell us where he got his fortune, said to be \$15,000,000.00. He dare not answer. How do you suppose he grew rich if he returned money that came his way? But everybody believes the 'Chief' got the Brady and Ryan money. I know it—and there are others.

"You can rob the people for years; you can fool the people for years; you can outrage the people for years; without letting them know it—for years; but when the people find out how they have been plundered; how they have been fooled; how they have been outraged, their wrath is terrible.

"Murphy, drunk with power, and blind with hate, has engineered his own undoing. Murphy will be the worst beaten Boss, on election day, in the annals of American politics, and his defeat will sound the doom of his Dictatorship—a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Fought A Good Fight.

"I have fought a good fight, against tremendous odds, for honest government; I have kept the faith; I have been true to my ideals, and to my official oath; I have stood by the PEOPLE; I have dared to defy the 'orders' of Boss Murphy; and I did it all in the face of threats of exposure and personal destruction. HAD I BUT SERVED THE BOSS WITH HALF THE ZEAL I DID THE STATE THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO REMOVAL OF WILLIAM SULZER.

Has No Regrets.

"Looking back over it all, I am frank to say I have no regrets, as my conscience is clear and tells me truly that I have done no wrong—but my whole duty—fearlessly and honestly—day in and day out—to all the people of the State—as God gave me the light to see the right.

A Victim of the System.

"There have been victims of corrupt Bossism; victims of The System; victims of Predatory Plutocracy; and victims of Invisible Government, throughout all the centuries of the past. I am not the first, neither shall I be the last. History merely repeats itself. The greatest wrongs in the annals of man have been political wrongs, done by politicians, under the forms of law. The greatest crimes in all the ages have

been political crimes, committed by those who had the power, against the spirit of the times. The greatest blunders ever made in the history of the world have been judicial blunders, done in defiance of the sentiments of mankind; committed under the cloak of law; and proclaimed in the name of Justice. Truth forever on the scaffold; wrong forever on the throne, tells the story, and proves the assertion; and the groans of the truly great from every bigoted rack; the stifled voices of freedom from every loathsome dungeon; the thoughts of advanced thinkers from every cruel torture chamber; and the heroic forms of the myriad martyrs looming large from the frightful flames of every fanatical stake, testify to it beyond successful contradiction."

NO TRAITORS.

"America is America. The ideals of true Americanism and genuine Patriotism are coming to the front. The old regime is passing away. The people demand social justice, economic freedom, and civil and religious liberty. Our free institutions must and shall be preserved. Traitors have been rioting in the rich reward of treason, but by the living God, they have gone too far."

—From speech of Governor Sulzer in New York Assembly, February 5, 1914.

A GREAT REFORM GOVERNOR.

**What Doctor Albert Shaw Says of
Mr. Sulzer.**

Mr. Sulzer's work for honest government discussed by Dr. Albert Shaw in the Review of Reviews, December, 1913.

A faithful reflection of public opinion in regard to Governor Sulzer, and his removal from office, is found in the December number of the Review of Reviews. This magazine, edited by Dr. Albert Shaw, presents every month an intelligent, non-partisan and impartial review of recent history-making events which commends itself to discriminating readers who appreciate how the powers of invisible government distort current news in the columns of many of the daily newspapers.

Dr. Shaw in the Review of Reviews says: "The election of William Sulzer to the legislature is not merely sensational; it is a political affair that is Revolutionary. Mr. Sulzer as Governor has rendered the State of New York an almost superlative service. The prospect for good government in the State is better now than it has been at any time for half a century—and this result is due to Sulzer. He had a chance, as Governor, to make a nominally good record for himself, and yet to avoid all serious trouble, Mr. Murphy would have allowed him to accomplish many things that could have borne the reform label. All that the Boss asked of him was not to investigate Graft too sharply, and to consult Mr. Murphy about appointments. In spite of all kinds of threats to disgrace him Governor Sulzer

persisted in investigating corruption in the affairs of the State.

"The trumped up charges against the Governor were easily proven to be false. Judge Cullen, who presided over the court, held that Mr. Sulzer had done nothing for which he could be impeached. The scoundrels who were mixed up in the orgy of canal and road-building graft were so short-sighted as to suppose that if they removed the Governor they would discredit Mr. Sulzer's accusations against them. But this was the very opposite of what happened. Their removal of Mr. Sulzer focused the attention of the whole world upon their own iniquities. It aroused the entire State of New York to a sense of public danger and public duty.

"But let us never forget that Governor Sulzer, thrown out of his office by Tammany, will unquestionably go down in history along with Tilden and Hughes, as one of the great reform Governors of the State of New York, whose courage in defying the corrupt combinations of crooked politics and crooked business led to great progress in the long-suffering but noble cause of good government.

"The great size of Mr. Mitchel's plurality, in the Mayoralty campaign, was due to Mr. Sulzer's speeches in the campaign. The Fusion ticket only had a fighting chance to win. But it happened that Tammany's fight against Governor Sulzer had resulted in sensational exposures of the real reasons that had impelled the Tammany Ring to oust him. It was shown clearly that Mr. Sulzer had been impeached, not for his faults, but for his virtues. He had started out as Governor to expose the mismanagement of State departments and the robbery

of the State by politicians and contractors in the expenditure of two or three hundred million dollars upon State canals, highways, prisons, and so on. Mr. Sulzer in a series of wonderful speeches, of definite accusations, with an irresistible quality of carrying conviction, before great masses of people, made the issue so clear that no one was left in doubt—and Tammany was annihilated.

"Governor Sulzer, meanwhile, had been promptly named for the Legislature as an Independent in the old Sixth Assembly District, and his meetings there were attended by countless thousands of sympathetic citizens who arose in passionate determination to vindicate an honest Governor against his corrupt traducers, and infamous opponents."

Mr. Sulzer the LEADER.

"The fight for honest government must go on. William Sulzer has played his part well, and his race is not yet run. From the watch towers he sounds the alarm. He is the leader. The great living issue he typifies and represents, pulsating with the life blood of humanity, will go forward until a cleaner and purer day arrives in the political life of our country."—From editorial in The N. Y. Mail, January 3, 1914.

MR. SULZER MADE A STRENUOUS CAMPAIGN IN 1914.

**He Spoke in Every County in the State.
One of His Most Effective Speeches
Was Delivered in the Opera House,
Elmira, N. Y., on October 19th,
We Reproduce it Here as
Printed in the Elmira
Advertiser.**

Ex-Governor Sulzer's Great Speech.

An audience that crowded the Opera House last night—to its standing room only capacity—with hundreds turned away—enthusiastically greeted former Governor Sulzer; and listened attentively, for more than two hours, to one of the greatest political speeches ever heard in Elmira.

The Governor spoke in part as follows:

"If you re-elect me I promise to clean house, at Albany, from top to bottom, and give the people an honest, and an efficient, and an economical administration of public affairs.

We Must Clean House.

"New York needs a house cleaning. This can be accomplished only by the defeat of Boss Murphy, and his candidates; the elimination of waste and extravagance; the abolition of useless offices; the extermination of the bi-partisan system of graft called 'fifty-fifty'; and the prosecution of the grafters who have robbed the taxpayers, in recent years, of millions and millions of dollars.

"When I am Governor again I shall continue the vigorous prosecutions I began against the grafters to recover, through the Courts, the loot of millions stolen from the State by the men who have waxed fat by the stupendous peculations.

What Sulzer Stands For.

"To this end I urge the defeat of the Murphy ticket, and the speedy enactment of an honest, simple, direct primary law, so that the voters, instead of the Bosses, shall nominate, as well as elect, all candidates for office.

"I denounce the present primary law as a fraud on the voters, enacted by the Boss to perpetuate the power of the Boss; and we must insist on the adoption of the amendments, introduced by me in the Assembly, which were defeated by Tammany in the last Legislature, to make the primary honest, effective, and official.

"You know I stand for free speech; for a free press; for free public schools; for civil and religious liberty; for freedom of worship; for freedom of conscience; for economic and industrial freedom; for the right of lawful assembly; for the general welfare; for harmony between labor and capital by a more equitable distribution of the fruits of toil; for equal and exact justice to every man and to every woman; for equal rights to all and special privileges to none; for the old integrities and the new humanities; for the open door of opportunity—the beacon light of individual hope—and the best guarantee for the perpetuity of our free institutions; for social justice; and—for the coming of the co-operative commonwealth—which will herald the dawn of the Brotherhood of Man.

Will Continue His Fight for Honest Government.

"Mr. Murphy, whom I antagonized, won a temporary victory when he removed me, but the fight for honest government must go on. The farce of my trial is having a good effect. It has opened the eyes of the people to the graft of millions of dollars annually, and it will hasten the adoption of the initiative and referendum; bring about the recall of dishonest public officials; and write upon the statute books other reforms, especially an official direct primary law, so that the voters, instead of the Bosses, will nominate, as well as elect, all officials to public office. The people now know that the power to nominate public officials is the power to control these public officials; and that we cannot have honest government in the State of New York until the voters nominate as well as elect all public officials.

Why He Was Removed.

"The voters know that my removal from office was illegal, and unconstitutional, and revolutionary—the consummation of a political conspiracy. I was removed not because I did wrong, but because I would not be dishonest; because I would not obey the Boss; because I would not violate my oath of office; because I was loyal to the public; because I would not betray the people; because I insisted on prosecuting grafters; because I set in motion the machinery of justice to send the thieves to prison; and because I would not connive at crime and be a party to the further looting of the State.

"It must be self-evident to any unprejudiced citizen that if I had winked at cor-

ruption, and consented to be a 'rubber stamp' for the Boss, I would have remained the unchallenged Governor of the State, and could have retired at the end of my term worth a million dollars.

"The future historian will say—to the everlasting credit of Wm. Sulzer—that he sacrificed his office on the altar of decent citizenship—in the struggle he made for honest government, and to protect the pockets of the taxpayers.

"My record in office for reform, for economy, for honesty, and for justice to all, speaks for itself, and should commend me to the voters as the candidate best qualified to finish the work I began to rid our State of grafters; to remedy maladministration; and to that end I appeal to all voters, regardless of party affiliation, to re-elect me to the office, from which I was unjustly removed, because I could not be bullied, or bossed, or bribed, or browbeaten, by the enemies of the people, and the forces of invisible government.

A voice: "Governor, tell us about fifty-fifty?"

Mr. Sulzer: "That is a pertinent inquiry. In the old days, when I was a member of the Legislature, during the administrations of Grover Cleveland, David B. Hill, and Roswell P. Flower, the public life at Albany was honest. Now and then a corrupt man got into office, but he was soon found out—and then he was put out. During the time I was in Congress I am glad to stand here, as an American, and testify that official life in Washington is honest. Once in a while a bad man goes there, but he does not stay there long.

"When I went to Albany, to be the Governor, on the first day of January, 1913, I

found out that public affairs there now are quite different from what they were in the old days. It seems the atmosphere has changed. They say it is in the air. As an erstwhile Senator recently observed—"You can feel it." In every nook and corner you hear Graft! Graft!! Graft!!! It was all so different from the old days that at first I was bewildered.

Fifty-Fifty Defined.

"Do you know I had not been Governor 24 hours before I heard whispered here and there 'fifty-fifty,' 'fifty-fifty,' 'fifty-fifty.' In the days of Cleveland and Hill and Flower I never heard of fifty-fifty. During the long time I was in Washington I never heard about fifty-fifty. It was something new to me; something I had never heard of before; something I knew nothing about. So I asked a friend, who seemed to be posted, what fifty-fifty meant. He looked at me in amazement, 'I am surprised,' he said, 'that you do not know about fifty-fifty.' 'If I knew,' I replied, 'I would not ask you. What is it?' 'Well,' he answered, 'fifty-fifty is this: A crooked politician gets a contract to do a piece of public work. He gives the contract to a crooked contractor. The crooked contractor must steal at least 50 per cent. of the amount of money specified in the contract. If he steals less, he never gets another contract. If he steals more, he becomes more popular. After the crooked contractor has robbed the taxpayers of 50 per cent. of the amount of money specified in the contract, he divides up what has been stolen with the crooked politician—half and half. That is what is known around Albany as fifty-fifty. Do you now understand?" said my inform-

ant. 'Yes,' I replied. 'I now understand; and I shall see to it that fifty-fifty is eliminated from the public affairs of our State.' 'Don't you do it!' said this man. 'If you do, you will become very unpopular. You are a popular man now, Governor, and I am your friend; but if you want to get along here, don't interfere with this system of graft called fifty-fifty.' 'Yes, I will,' I replied. 'I promised the taxpayers, when I was a candidate, that if I were elected, I would give them an honest administration, and I am going to do it—come weal or woe.'

"Then I began, as you know, a series of investigations on the Capitol work; on the Canal work; on the Prison work; and on the Highway work. These investigations had not gone far before I discovered that the people of New York are robbed every year of more than six millions of dollars by crooked politicians, and crooked contractors, under this crooked system of graft called fifty-fifty.

"When I was confronted with the proofs of these depredations on the pocketbooks of the taxpayers I determined to prosecute the grafters, and to institute legal proceedings to recover from the contractors the money they had stolen. Mr. Murphy, and others, warned me not to do this. They told me if I went ahead, they would give me the fight of my life. When they found out I was going ahead, they first endeavored to bribe me, and when they found out I could not be bribed, they threatened me with all sorts of things, among them my removal from office. However, I was determined not to be bought, or bullied, and so far as the office I held went I told them frankly that if I could not be the Governor, and carry out my pledges to the

people, I did not want to hold the office, and be a 'proxy' Governor. At first I thought I was the Governor, but Murphy said I had only been elected—that he was the Governor. Do you know I really was so unsophisticated that I had the belief that the people elected me to discharge the duties of the Executive Office—and not Murphy.

The Power of the Boss.

"The Boss demanded that I appoint the men he recommended; that I sign, or veto, the bills he approved, or disapproved; that I stop all investigations of graft; that I cease all prosecutions against the grafters; that I dismiss from the service of the State the men he did not like; and that I consult him, in Delmonico's, about every official act, and carry out, in Albany, his arrogant instructions. When I refused, he bluntly told me he would paralyze my administration through his control of the Legislature, the Courts, and the several Departments of the State—and then throw me out of the Governorship as a warning to others to 'obey' or be 'ousted.' Such is the power of the Boss. What shall we do about it?

A voice: "Throw out the Boss!"

Mr. Sulzer: "Yes, that is the thing to do."

The Millstone.

"It seems that in New York candidates are only elected to office—but that the Boss is elected to power. It is this sinister system that I am fighting—and it is your fight. Just so long as Boss Murphy designates the candidates, just so long should defeat overwhelm the Democracy. The decent Democrats of the State must submit no longer to the vulgar dictation of

Boss Murphy. Do not forget it is the Murphys!, and the Macks!, and the McCabes!, and the McCooeys! that make up the political millstone which carries down to defeat the hopes and the ambitions of every Democratic candidate who wears the stamp of their approval, and submits to the collar of their authority.

We Should Be Proud of New York.

"We should be proud of our State—not ashamed of it. New York is the greatest State in the Union. Every citizen should glory in its supremacy. It should always stand as an exemplar for honest, and efficient, and progressive administration. As its Governor I did my best to give the people of the State a progressive and a business-like administration of public affairs. I say business-like advisedly, because I assure our business men that they can rely on me, at all times, to do my utmost to promote the business interests of our Commonwealth.

Stands for Law and Order.

"They say I am a believer in law and order. That is true. No man in all this land is a greater upholder than I am of the supremacy of the law. Let no one misunderstand me when I say that. If I wanted to take the law in my own hands, when I was Governor, the Boss, and his servile tools, in the Legislature, never could have ousted me from the Governorship. All I had to do was to declare martial law, in Albany County, and lock up the crooks in the Legislature. But I would not do it to save my office. I would not take the law into my own hands—and I was advised to do it—to protect my rights against the con-

spirators. But I said then, and I repeat now, that no man, rich or poor, high or low, great or small, is above the law. No man no matter what he believes is his grievance, or what he thinks are his rights, must take the law into his own hands. Contempt for the law destroys the State. The law is supreme, and every man must bow to its observance—whether he likes the law or not.

Was Governor of All the People.

"When I became Governor I put aside, to a very large extent, all partisan considerations, and determined to be the Governor of all the people, and to give them, in so far as I could, the kind of government they wanted. There should be no partisanship in good government.

"Those who know me will tell you that I make it a rule to promise little, but to work unceasingly to secure results. The people know that an ounce of performance is worth a ton of promise. Results talk. Every official should be conscious, that in the last analysis, he will be judged not by what he says, but by what he does, and by what he has accomplished. Deeds, not words, are the thing. Let me assure you that I shall continue to work for the things the people want regardless of the obstacles put in the way, or of the personal consequences—and I know, by bitter experience, that consequences are unpitying.

"When I became Governor I shirked no responsibility. I was **The Governor**, and I had the courage to take up the burdensome task of administrative reform. That was the cause of the State, and it is worthy of the zealous efforts of any man. I worked assiduously to institute reforms

along administrative lines, and the record shows I accomplished much during the few months I was in office. Many of you are aware of what I did, and the difficulties that I had to overcome in order to succeed. Time will testify in my behalf. I can afford to be patient.

Elect Honest and Intelligent Officials.

"The general welfare is the supreme duty of the State. Those who administer the affairs of the State should exercise its every agency to correct existing abuses; to enforce just government; to secure greater economies; to institute more efficiency; to remedy social injustice; to uproot official corruption; and to raise higher the standards of official integrity.

"Every citizen owes a duty to the State. No matter how engrossed a man may be in his own affairs, he should, at least, be patriotic enough to do everything in his power to promote the general welfare by electing honest and intelligent men to office—men who are true, and fearless, and honest, and sincere—men who will faithfully live up to their obligations; and men who will carry out, in letter and in spirit, their solemn pledges to the people.

The Only Anti-Boss Candidate.

"On the record I submit that I am entitled to be re-elected Governor of New York. I have been nominated by the American Party, which is composed of independent and justice-loving citizens. Our emblem is the Liberty Bell. I have accepted this nomination, and I am in the race to win. I am the only Simon-pure-anti-boss-honest-government-candidate in the field. My re-election is your victory,

and will accentuate the doctrine that the people can govern themselves.

"They say I know something about politics. For the information of those who like to bet I make this prediction—that if I am not the next Governor, the candidate of Boss Murphy—Little Martin Glynn—will not be the winner. Glynn was a party to the theft of the Governorship—but he will realize, when the votes are counted, that the people do not condone the robbery.

The Only Issue.

"All I ask for is a square deal. The only issue in this campaign is the issue I make—namely, Get the Grafters, and Beat the Bosses. No one can challenge my right to be a candidate; to make an effort to serve out my term as Governor; and to continue the work I began for reform. To this end I am appealing to the voters, in the State, who want honest government; who favor justice; and who believe in a square deal, to vote for me. If they support me I shall win. If they do not support me they will never get another Governor to sacrifice his office to protect their pocketbooks.

The Frame-Up.

"The Murphy impeachers said they removed me from office because my campaign statement, in 1912, was erroneous; but on a thorough examination it was subsequently shown to be correct. That is the truth. As a matter of fact the charges made against me to get me out of office, were all framed-up, and have been shown to be false, and a part and parcel of the political conspiracy to take my office because I would not be a tool of the Boss, and a creature of the Invisible Government.

Removal Was Anarchy.

"Judge Cullen, who presided at the so-called trial, said I had done no wrong—in office or out of office—and I say my removal was illegal, and unconstitutional, and revolutionary. I say illegal advisedly, because the Murphy Court of Infamy removed me for an alleged dereliction committed, or omitted, ere I became Governor, and the laws of the State declare the Governor cannot be removed from office except for willful and corrupt misconduct in office; and remember the Boss could not prove that I did wrong in office, except that I refused to carry out his 'orders,' and be a party to the looting of the Taxpayers. I say my removal was revolutionary, because I am the first man in history, elected to a high office, who was removed from that office for an alleged something the Boss declares I forgot to do before I assumed office! Every lawyer in the State, except a Tammany lawyer, will tell you my ouster from office was anarchy. The decision of Judge Cullen in my favor—and not the verdict of Tammany—will be the judgment of posterity.

A voice: "Bill, you were robbed!"

Mr. Sulzer: "Yes, I was robbed—robbed of the office the people gave me—by the Boss—because I would not be a creature of the Boss.

What's the Use of Electing a Democratic Governor?

"What is the use of the Democratic voters electing a man Governor if the Boss can remove him if he does not do what the Boss demands? The Boss has too much power. No Boss should have the power to nullify the verdict of the people in an

election. No Boss should have the power to recall a faithful official because he is loyal to the public. That power should be lodged only in the people. Colonel Watterson tells the Country that the people of New York are incapable of self-government. Just so long as the Democrats permit Boss Murphy to rule the Democratic Organization with a rod of iron, and remove Democratic Governors who dare to challenge his corrupt demands, the indictment written by the distinguished editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal will hold good. Do not forget that—and do not forget that it is better for the taxpayers to keep the Republicans in office until we can get Murphy, and his crooked Democratic tools, out of power and out of public place—for you know that no man can be a servile servant of Boss Murphy, and at the same time a faithful servant of the people. No man can serve two masters. The Democratic Party does not deserve to win in this election, or in any future election, until it is honest, and efficient, and progressive—and free from the shackles of Boss Murphy—the despot of Delmonico's.

Removed Because He Would Not be a
"Rubber Stamp."

"The people know that I was removed from the Governorship because Boss Murphy controlled the Legislature, and ordered my removal when he found out I would not be a 'rubber stamp'. He controlled most of the members of the High Court of Infamy; dictated its procedure, and wrote the judgment. Murphy was the Judge and the Jury; the Prosecutor and the Bailiff. An honest man did not have a Chinaman's chance in the Murphy Court of Infamy.

Mr. Sulzer's Platform.

"When they ask you what my platform is, you tell them that my platform, in this campaign, is as follows:

1. Beat the Bosses.
2. Stop the Stealing.
3. Get the Grafters.
4. Take care of the Taxpayers.
5. Give Labor a lift, and everyone a Square Deal.
6. Prevent the Pollution of the Courts of Justice.
7. Safeguard Social Justice, and Promote the General Welfare.
8. Enforce Equal Rights to all, and Stop Special Privileges to any one.
9. Fight for the Better Day; fight to make Mankind Free—free from Fear; free from Fetters; free from Superstition; free from the fetich of the Past; free Politically; free Economically; and free Industrially.

Now an Independent Candidate.

"When they ask you what my politics are, in this campaign, you tell them that I want the people to restore me to the office the Boss took from me to give to his servile tool—Martin Glynn; tell them I am an Independent Candidate for Governor; that I am a Jefferson Democrat, but not a Murphy Democrat. Boss Murphy is not a Democrat. Those who know tell us Murphy is a political buccaneer—the modern Captain Kidd of the Democratic Machine. They say he is working for his own pocket all the time. The testimony of his friends proves that he has been very successful. They say he is worth millions of dollars, and that he has no visible means of support. When you ask him, 'Mr. Murphy,

where did you get it?" he retires to his palatial country place in Good Ground, and answers never a word.

"What shall we do about it? Let your answer be: Murphy must go! Down with government from a desk in Tammany Hall! That is the slogan of this campaign.

"Then you tell them I am a Lincoln Republican. Lincoln struggled for five years to free our Country from human slavery. I am willing to struggle for ten years to free our State from the slavery of corrupt bossism.

"Then you tell them that I am a Radical—and a pioneer Progressive; that my record of six years in the Legislature; of eighteen years in the Congress; and as the Governor of New York, proves it; and shows beyond successful contradiction, that I am now, and always have been, a genuine Progressive—and a Friend of Man.

"Then you tell them, that above all and beyond all, that I am an American—with no divided allegiance—an American who wants America to be Free—and that I am doing all I can in my day and generation, as I see the right, and God gives me the light, for the Cause that lacks assistance; against the wrongs that need resistance; and to perpetuate our free institutions, and hand them down unimpaired to future generations.

Tells the Truth.

"What I have told you, to-night, is the truth, and nothing but the truth. The record proves all I have said beyond successful contradiction. I am not indulging in rhetoric. I am talking facts. The record sustains me and corroborates my assertions. You must govern yourselves accordingly.

"No matter what my enemies say about me you know that the record proves I was loyal to the people. This fight is your fight—a fight for decent politics, and for an honest administration of public affairs. In the long run it will make very little difference to me if I win or lose—but it will make a great deal of difference to you, and to your pocketbooks, and to the people of the State of New York. Remember, my friends, the Cause is your Cause—the Cause of the State—and you must fight for it, because when the battle is won, good government will triumph—and the victory will be yours.

"The tumult of the campaign dies,
The Bosses and their tools depart;
Yet stands thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart;
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet;
Lest we forget, lest we forget!"

ARE YOU A DEMOCRAT?

"Are you a Democrat? Remember, eternal vigilance is the price of our liberties. Progress is the watchword of humanity. He who would attempt to stop the wheels of progress is doomed to defeat. The night of party slavery has been long; sometimes it has seemed as if the day would never come; but at last the morning light of the brighter day shines through the darkest clouds of night, and hope is renewed."
(From Gov. Sulzer's speech in Assembly,
March 6, 1914.)

COL. HENRY WATTERSON, IN A LEADING EDITORIAL IN THE LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL, NOV. 9, 1913, SAYS GOVERNOR SULZER WAS REMOVED BECAUSE HE WAS LOYAL TO THE PUBLIC.

"That the people of New York are incapable of self-government has long been the belief of observant and thoughtful on-lookers.

"Alack, the day! New York has no dignity to preserve. Its dignity was thrown to the dogs years ago. Not one of the rogues who voted Governor Sulzer out of office cares a hill o' beans about the honor of the State. The court which tried him was a mock court with a majority foresworn. Justice, patriotism, and truth fled to brutish beasts, leaving graft and grafters to fight over the loot and to aid one another in corrupt succession—the people looking on impotent and dazed.

"The opportunities for stealing are so ever-present and easy—the rewards of theft so enormous—the likelihood of punishment is so slight! We read of the Walpole regime in England with a kind of wonder. It was not a flea bite by comparison with the system of pillage which holds New York in a grip from which there seems no escape. Go where one may he encounters its agents and stumbles over its engineerings. Scratch a politician, whatever label he wears, and you find a scamp. Things are every whit as bad as they were under Tweed. They were amateurs in those days. A part of their plan was to enjoy life. Wine, women and song had seats at their tables. Now they are professionals. Addition, division, and silence are ranged about the board where Fisk said 'the woodbine twineth.' No nonsense; just the firm hand, the cold stare, and, where need be the legend, 'dead men tell no tales.' 38

"Brave William Sulzer! What siren voice of honest government could have lured him to battle on the off side of a stream having no bridges, his line of retreat leading through the enemy's country right into the deadly ambushes and yawning rifle pits of Tammany—Invisible Government—and Wall Street? The case against him was a 'frame-up.' Did he not know that Tammany was pollution, and Wall Street a house of prostitution? His efforts for honest government will plead for him. But just as they white-washed Stillwell, so they removed him—because he was loyal to the Public."

GOVERNOR SULZER BLOCKS TAM- MANY GRAFT.

(From Editorial in New York World July
23, 1913.)

Sulzer's real offense is blocking Tammany's access to millions of State money. That is the beginning and end of the vendetta that Murphy is waging against the Governor. The Boss is fighting for his graft, the Legislature is subservient to the Boss, and the business of the State is at a standstill.

It is possible that the Government of the State of New York touched lower depths of degradation under Tweed than under Murphy, although we doubt it. In Tweed's day there was a strong and virile public opinion that uncompromisingly resisted corruption at every step until the corruptionists were driven out. In Murphy's day the struggle seems to be regarded with cynical indifference as a contest between the Boss, and the Governor.

Poor old New York! Is it really fit for self-government, or is it fit only for government by contracts? Is Murphy right after all in the sordid view that he takes of the political morals of the people of this State?

THE REV. DR. MADISON C. PETERS' TRIBUTE TO GOV. SULZER.

The Rev. Dr. Madison C. Peters says: "Strange mixture of power and practicality, of fancy and fact; of zeal and enthusiasm; dreamer of big dreams, Wm. Sulzer cannot be ignored. You may hate him, or you may love him; but be sure of one thing—you can never forget him. He is the most potent force for good in our country—the greatest reformer in America."

American Party Platform 1916.

HUGHES AND FAIRBANKS FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE- PRESIDENT.

The American Party, in National Convention assembled, in Minneapolis, July 22, 1916, declares for the Perpetuity of the Free Institutions of America; and demands these essential reforms to further the Brotherhood of Man.

1. Peace and comity with all nations—entangling alliances with none—and the establishment of an International Court of Justice—having jurisdiction of every International Question, with ample powers to enforce its decrees, and insure the peace of the World.

2. Equal suffrage to women by the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Federal Constitution; equality of all before the law; river and harbor improvements; good roads; the reclamation of desert lands; an American Merchant Marine; a more scientific system of taxation; an honest dollar; the safeguarding of American citizens at home and abroad; and an honest, and an efficient, and an economical administration of public affairs—free from graft—with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

3. Human rights before property rights; the man above the dollar; the protection of those who toil; the promotion of social justice; the betterment of the home; harmony between capital and labor by a more

equitable distribution of the fruits of labor; a Civil Service based entirely on the merit system; the conservation of our natural resources; the initiative, the referendum, and the recall; the government ownership, and operation, of public utilities; simplicity and expediency in civil and criminal law procedure to secure the square deal; a uniform marriage and divorce law; the extermination of private monopoly; the prevention of the mortmain of idle wealth; the abolition of child labor in shops and factories; court review of departmental decisions; and a cheaper and more efficient parcels post.

4. A single Presidential term; preferential direct primaries for the nomination of President, Vice-President, and Senators and Representatives in Congress—together with their election directly by the voters; and the assembling of Congress on the first Monday in January succeeding the election of the members thereof.

5. On this platform, and for these principles, the American Party presents to the electors of the United States as its candidate for President, Charles E. Hughes, of New York, and as its candidate for Vice-President, Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana; and declares that their records, in the vineyard of the people, testify in tones more eloquent than words their loyalty to the public; their fitness for the office; their fidelity to American principles; their devotion to Peace, Progress, Protection, Prosperity, and Patriotism; and to secure their election the American Party cordially invites the co-operation of the patriotic citizens of our country regardless of past political affiliations.

Attest:

CHAS. J. HAAGA,
Secretary to the Convention.

AMERICAN PARTY.

Headquarters:
Broadway Central Hotel,
675 Broadway,
New York City.

**Vote for Hughes and Whitman under the
American Party Emblem, the Liberty Bell.**
Do not fail to enroll as an American.

READ THESE RESOLUTIONS:

At a general conference, of the American Party, duly called, and attended by its leading members, National, State, and City—all the members of the Executive Committee being present—held at its headquarters, in the Broadway Central Hotel, 675 Broadway, New York City, Monday night, the 9th day of October, 1916, the following resolutions were considered and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, the American Party in National Convention, assembled, in Minneapolis, the 22d day of July, 1916, nominated Wm. Sulzer, of New York, for President, and John M. Parker, of Louisiana, for Vice-President, and

WHEREAS, the said Wm. Sulzer, and the said John M. Parker, have declined such nominations; and

WHEREAS, said convention duly adopted a resolution that in case of such declinations the vacancies shall be filled by a majority vote of the Executive Committee of said American Party; now therefore be it:

RESOLVED, that the American Party, in general conference assembled, and by the unanimous vote of its National Committee; its State Committee, and its Executive Committee—a majority of each committee being

present—hereby nominates and selects as its national candidates, in the present campaign, Charles E. Hughes, of New York, for President; and Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, for Vice-President; and hereby pledges the American Party, and all its members, and all those who believe in and adhere to its principles, to vote for the said national candidates, and to do all in their power to secure their election; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the officers of the American Party take such action in the premises as they deem expedient to place an electoral ticket, on the official ballot, under the emblem of the American Party—the Liberty Bell.

BELA TOKAJI,
Chairman.

Attest:

BELMONT EPHRAIM,
Secretary.

STATEMENT BY MR. TOKAJI.

"These resolutions," said Bela Tokaji, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Party, "speak for themselves, and mean that the American Party will do its utmost to elect Hughes and Fairbanks—because we believe their election will vindicate fundamental American principles and promote the general welfare of our Government.

"In the present crisis we regard it a patriotic duty for every true blue American to vote for Hughes, and do all that can be done to secure his election—and we say this advisedly and regardless of past party affiliations. We want America to be First;

we want America to be Free; but we want America to be America—and loyal to the fundamental principles of the Fathers.

"We shall make a hard fight in New York for Hughes, Fairbanks, and Whitman. We will poll for them not less than 50,000 votes.

"Former Governor Wm. Sulzer, who polled 127,600 votes on our ticket in 1914, will take the stump for the candidates, and make speeches in New York and other pivotal States."

Be an American!

Vote for Hughes.

Vote for Whitman.

Vote for Calder.

Vote the Liberty Bell Ticket.

Beat Boss Murphy. Seabury is Murphy's candidate. Wilson gave Murphy 82 per cent. of the New York State appointments. The way to Beat Murphy is to Beat Murphy's candidates.

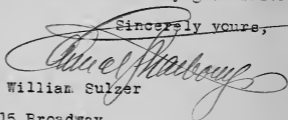
STRASBOURGER & SCHALLEK
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
74 BROADWAY, N. Y

October 25th, 1916

My dear Governor:

Thank you very much for your
kind congratulations. I assure you it is a
pleasure to hear from all my good friends.

Sincerely yours,

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read "Daniel H. Schallek". The signature is written over the "Sincerely yours," and extends across the middle of the page.

Honorable William Sulzer

115 Broadway

New York City

WELDING REFORM FORCES FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

NEW MOVEMENT OF WIDE SCOPE MAY SELECT SULZER LEADER.

The present is a time of great change. The old political parties, both great and small, are rapidly adopting each other's most progressive ideas.

America is beginning to see that honesty is the best policy and frankness a virtue.

It is really becoming difficult to keep tab on the numerous progressive and reform movements which have sprung up all over the country within and without political parties, patriotic, civic, economic, peace and other societies, as various groups of citizens have caught the spirit of enlightenment.

To weld all these constructive forces together, harmonize differences of opinion and individual preferences in favor of some dominant line of action would be a tremendous task.

The man or men capable of doing it should ultimately win the respect and admiration of the entire nation, even though he won no political honors and gained no personal advantage.

They Are Willing to Try.

But that is precisely the task many enthusiastic thinkers are attempting. The larger number of them appear to be looking to ex-Gov. Wm. Sulzer, of New York, as their leader, and he is very likely to be chosen by two of the political parties as the nominee for President. Ideas and principles, however, are more to the fore in this movement than men and politics. Brotherhood is the true goal toward which all factions are striving.

As a striking instance "The Star of Hope" Pennsylvania, official organ of the National Prohibition League, gives space to the American party's national chairman, who makes suggestions as to both parties uniting in the selection of Sulzer as a leader.

An Old Party to Broaden Scope.

Dr. O. D. Ellett, editor of "The Progressive American" (Iowa), says: "The prohibition party has just one chance to live and to see its issue succeed through efforts outside old parties. By a union of the reform forces and a broadening of its national policy."

Attention is called to the fact that

three "prohibition" issues have some time since passed out of the hands of the Prohibition party—namely, election of United States Senators by popular vote, tariff regulation commission and equal suffrage.

In Union Alone There Is Strength.

So we find Socialists sarcastically pointing to planks of their political platforms adopted into Democratic and Progressive platforms, sometimes a bit mutilated, it is true, but still



Wm. Sulzer.

showing progress despite politicians.

The remains of the Progressive party are being absorbed into the Republican party because the Progressives have conquered the Standpatters, despite defeat, much as the Greek culture ruled Rome when Rome conquered by force of arms.

Candidate of the Four "P's."

Peace, Prosperity, Patriotism and Prohibition is about the way the new movement would describe itself in a cablegram. The peace societies are almost innumerable by this time. And they differ and criticize each other over unessentials. The activities of

one man, Henry Ford, of Michigan, have led the people of his State to nominate him at the recent primary as their choice for President.

The Republican party delegates, however, seem to have decided to give him just one complimentary vote and then help out a real politician. So much for the "voice of the people."

The Preparedness forces likewise differ as to methods. Whether we are to prepare for war or peace has troubled the minds of many six-cylinder thinkers among our politicians. Yet the "voice of the people" would probably vote for the plan to be outlined in next issue of "Light" by H. G. Traver, or something close to it.

Patriotism is a quality stontly advocated by every citizen in the United States. There are numerous patriotic societies, fraternities and organizations, some of which differ with others as to methods and even fundamentals. Could they all be brought under one head it would be a tremendous step toward brotherhood and ideal citizenship.

Prosperity is universally advocated and we are constantly told that we have it or it is just "on its way," but only a few of us really meet it face to face. And then it becomes embarrassed sometimes and sneaks away. But the way to national prosperity has been pointed out for lo, these 2,000 years—the Golden Rule. Yet

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STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY

July 8, 1913.

Governor Sulzer will send to the Senate for confirmation as
- a Public Service Commissioner for the Second District

CHARLES J. CHASE, of Croton-on-the-Hudson, to succeed Curtis N. Douglas who was heretofore appointed during the recess of the Senate and whose term of office has expired.

In regard to the appointment of Mr. Chase as a Public Service Commissioner Governor Sulzer said:

"Charles J. Chase, nominated to be Public Service Commissioner in place of Curtis N. Douglas, whose term has expired, is and has been a locomotive engineer on the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad for more than twenty years. He lives in Croton-on-the-Hudson and has been endorsed by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, by the New York State Federation of Labor, by many lodges of railroad men throughout the State, and has the endorsement of labor leaders outside railroad men in Niagara, Buffalo, Rochester, Albany, Poughkeepsie and New York. He has lived at Croton-on-the-Hudson for thirty years and is endorsed from that place by bankers, merchants and clergymen who have known him most of his life.

"The nomination of Mr. Chase is made in accordance with the promise made by the Democratic Party in its platform adopted in the last State Convention as follows:

'We favor the appointment of a practical railroad man as Public Service Commissioner.'

"In view of the plank in the Democratic platform" said the Governor in conclusion, "I sincerely hope Mr. Chase who is well qualified, honest and capable will be confirmed by the Senate".

Albany, N. Y., June 2nd, 1913

Many letters are now being received at the Executive Chamber from United States Senators, Governors and high officials of other states favoring direct primaries.

The following letter has just been received from United States Senator Henry S. Ashurst, of Arizona:

Honorable Chester C. Platt,
Secretary to the Governor,
Albany, N. Y.

Washington, D. C., May 31st, 1913

Dear Mr. Platt:-

This in reply to yours of the 26th and I have read the data regarding the direct primaries which you have so kindly transmitted to me. If there be any practical way in which I can assist in bringing about the adoption of a primary election for the nomination of candidates in your State I should gladly do so. I congratulate Governor Sulzer upon his able advocacy of this valuable advancement; moreover, I observe that Honorable William Randolph Hearst is giving his powerful and valuable aid to this needful reform. It is impossible to exaggerate the civic benefits which flow from a pure, sweeping, state-wide primary election law. The primary nomination which abolishes the convention, eliminates the "purchased proxy." It destroys the secret caucus methods, and it guarantees to the plain citizen the same degree of potentiality as each and every other citizen possesses. Now and then, in the past, a legislature or a political convention has been found on the bargain counter and purchased as so many oxen in the field, but it is impossible to purchase all the people.

In Arizona we have a state-wide primary law for the nomination of all candidates, including the United States Senators, and while it might seem ungracious in me to praise the bridge which carried me over, I can not refrain from observing that in Arizona, I, a poor man, with absolutely no income whatever except my small law practice, was enabled by means of the direct primary, where the people had the right to express their choice, to defeat the combined influences of the railroads, national banks, the smelter trust and every corrupt politician in the State, all of which interests confederated and combined in the hope of bringing about my defeat and electing a reactionary. I mention this circumstance to show that a direct primary does not operate in favor of the rich man and against the poor man, for we frequently find the argument advanced by the opponents of the direct primary, that "under the direct primary no one but a rich man may enter the political field." The ~~is~~ very reverse is true. A poor man may enter the primary, and if he have ability, facts, courage and energy, he may canvass any of our largest and most populous states by the expenditure of a few hundred dollars, whereas, if he were required to go before a convention to obtain a nomination, a number of sinister private interests would be able to cohere, by means of purchased proxies and by means of secret caucus methods, control the situation.

Wishing you success, I am, with great respect,

Yours cordially,

(Signed) Henry F. Ashurst.

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY

May 2nd, 1913.

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

Your honorable bodies can have no doubts as to my position regarding the conservation of the natural resources of this State and their development and utilization for the benefit of all the people.

In my first annual message I respectfully directed your attention to this subject.

On January 14th, 1913, I transmitted a special message commending to your favorable consideration the immediate repeal of the charter granted by Chapter 355 of the laws of 1907 to the Long Sault Development Company.

On February 17th, 1913, I transmitted to every member of the Sixty-second Congress, an opinion of the Hon. Thomas Carmody Attorney-General of the State of New York, in pamphlet form on "Federal Regulation of Water Power within the State of New York" together with a personal letter from myself concerning the issuance of permits by the Secretary of War as to the diversion within the State of New York of the waters of Niagara River, above the falls of Niagara, to the end that the State of New York, might itself develop, control and regulate its water powers and provide cheaper light and power for its citizens.

In my special message to your Honorable Bodies dated April 7th, 1913, I transmitted, for your favorable consideration, an able exposition of the rights and interests of the State of New York in and to the waters of the Niagara River, written by Attorney-General Carmody, in which I concurred; and then urged that this Legislature should immediately take action in the premises, with the view of protecting the scenic grandeur of Niagara Falls and conserving the rights of the people of the State.

Following the recommendations of the Attorney-General there was introduced and is now pending, before your honorable bodies, a bill which carries out these recommendations of the learned Attorney-General, which provides a practical and comprehensive plan for the preservation to the State of New York of its property and interest in the waters of Niagara River and the adequate utilization of the power and hydro-electric energy that such waters may develop with equal opportunity of participation at reasonable cost and rates by the citizens of our State.

There can be no question regarding the benefits which will accrue to the citizens of our State by the repeal of the purported charter of the Long Sault Development Company, and the enactment of the pending bill relating to the waters of the Niagara River.

I have further, sent your Honorable Bodies, special emergency messages to assist the enactment of these highly beneficial measures. I believe that both these measures, at this writing, are so situated, and are in such legislative form, that at this session of the Legislature they can speedily be passed.

Every legislator, unless he favors the control and use of the State's natural resources by the few, rather than their conservation, and development, and utilization, by all the citizens, with equal opportunity, should heartily favor and support these measures.

I earnestly request that every member of the Legislature will give immediate, serious and favorable consideration to these measures and pass them in the interest of the public welfare and for the benefit of all the citizens of our State.

Wm. SULZER.

**A
Letter from a Well Known
Citizen**

**ABOUT
Governor Whitman,
Ex.-Senator Brackett,
Former Gov. Sulzer,**

**AND
Boss Murphy's Handy Man—
The Honorable AL. SMITH,
OF
TAMMANY HALL.**

To the Editor of the Knickerbocker
Press:

Sir: Permit me, an impartial observer, to reply to the letter published in your paper from Mr. Brackett, of Saratoga.

Everybody in the State, that has an ounce of common sense, knows that Boss Murphy removed Governor Sulzer because the governor was determined to do what he believed was right, regardless of Murphy; because he got after the grafters, in the interest of honest government; and because he advocated legislative reforms in the interest of the people to which Murphy and his gang were opposed.

The impeachment proceeding was a farce and a scandal. It was illegal and unconstitutional. Every lawyer in the State who is not a Tammany lawyer will tell you so. The whole matter was a political frame-up, and has damned Tammany Hall forever. I have gone over the record, and I say this as a just man, and an old-time Democrat.

Mr. Brackett's conscience seems to be troubling him now for the ignoble part he played in that infamous proceeding. It is too late, however, for Mr. Brackett to come before the public, and ask for a vote of confidence for the inglorious part he played, at the request of Tammany, and for the money there was in it.

Rest assured the decent people of the State of New York will never forget the good that Governor Sulzer did. They know he was crucified by the Tammany Plunderbund, in a packed political court, not for his vices but for his virtues.

The voters will never forgive the men who removed Governor Sulzer; and if these men think so let them come before the people for public office, and the voters will let them know what they think about it. This has been the case ever since 1913, and it will continue so long as one of them is a candidate for political office. If Mr. Brackett doubts it just let him run for some political office and we will bury him under an avalanche of adverse votes just the same as we intend to bury Boss Murphy's puppet—Al. Smith—on election day.

Mr. Brackett was well paid for what he did for Boss Murphy against Governor Sulzer, but it seems from what he says that the dirty dollars of Tammany are burning holes in his conscience as well as in his pockets.

The Knickerbocker Press never did a grander and nobler work than it did in the Sulzer fight, and it deserves the thanks and the commendation of every decent man and woman in the State for now and then reminding us of the sacrifices Governor Sulzer made for them, and the real reasons for his unjust and illegal removal from office.

The impeachment has been impeached by the voters. They sent Mr. Sulzer back to Albany in 1913. In the last analysis they are the real impeachers—as Brackett and others—too numerable to mention—have found out to their sorrow.

But what is Mr. Brackett now trying to do? It looks as if he were endeavoring to defeat Governor Whitman for personal reasons, and was worried about the ghost of impeachment bobbing up—as it surely will—to destroy Al. Smith, whose devious work for the Boss, in the impeachment matter, will not stand the test of impartial investigation.

Very truly,
GEORGE W. DENNISON.

ELOQUENT SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN SULZER
AT THE SIXTH ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF
INTERNATIONAL LAW.

HELD AT THE NEW WILLARD HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 27, 1912.

Washington, D. C., April 28.

The American Society of International Law held its Sixth Annual Dinner last night at the New Willard. Several hundred distinguished lawyers of international fame from all parts of the world participated in the festive occasion. The speakers were: Judge George Gray, of the U. S. Supreme Court, Secretary Elihu Root, Secretary Henry Cabot Lodge, Congressman Sulzer, Premier Robert L. Borden, of Canada, Frederick R. Coudert, Esq., of New York, Senator Fiore, of Italy, Baron Lange, of Belgium, and former Premier of France, Hon. Gabriel Hanataux.

Mr. Sulzer was called on unexpectedly and delivered impromptu a witty, instructive and patriotic address.

The Congressman said:

"My friends, I am glad to-night to be in this distinguished company—the International Lawyers of America. I must at the outset, however, make a confession—and confession, the District Attorneys say—is good for the State. (Laughter).

"The truth is I came here to-night to listen to wise men expatiate on the intricacies and the niceties of international law, and not discuss the subject myself. I would rather listen than be heard. When I found I was down on the program for a speech and realized that I would have to say something, I took courage and consulted my friend here, Senator Fiore, of Italy, and asked him what I should talk about. He promptly replied, "If you can be as witty, and as interesting and as entertaining as those who have preceded you, I hope you will talk about a minute." (Laughter). Let me say it is no laughing matter to make a speech on International Law—especially when you know little or nothing about it. (Laughter).

"But seriously, gentlemen, we are favored to-night by having around this festive board many eminent publicists from foreign countries and many of our own distinguished citizens; and we are singularly honored by the presence here of the Premier of our sister country of the north, the Right Honorable Robert L. Borden, (Applause). No one is more gratified by his presence here than myself, because I know something about the wonderful land of Canada. I have a cousin living there. She is a thorough Canadian and often writes to me. Now and then we visit each other. She is very patriotic and very emphatic and years ago predicted that if there should ever be any annexing, Canada would annex the United States. (Laughter).

"We welcome Premier Borden to our midst and bid him enjoy himself and fear not---while my cousin lives. (Laughter).

"Yes, my friends, I know something of the wonderland the genial and sagacious Premier represents. I have traveled much through the great land to the north called Canada, stretching away from the international boundary line to the frozen Arctic, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one of the greatest countries in all the world, an empire in itself, and destined, as the years come and go, to become greater and grander; more powerful and more prosperous; (Applause) and I could say more patriotic and more populous every year, especially if we do not do something to keep our own people at home. (Laughter).

"Do not laugh---the Government Statistics show that last year about two hundred and fifty thousand of our citizens sold their farms in Iowa, in the Dakotas, in Kansas, in Minnesota, and in Nebraska, and took their families and all their possessions and went into Canada. And these people who leave us and remove to Canada are among the best people in all our land. They till the soil. They are prosperous. They add wealth to the world. They are the pioneers in Northwestern Canada, and they are making the lands there blossom like a rose. They are making western Canada great and prosperous.

"Is this an international question? Not at all. It is a domestic question. Why do these people go to Canada? I know. I

have investigated. It is because Canada has better land laws, better homestead laws—in a word because Borden's Government up there is more democratic than our Government is down here. (Laughter). That is all there is to it, and if it keeps on, the time is coming when Canada will be talking about annexing us. As a legislator I am trying my best to stop it. (Applause). I am trying to pass good laws to keep our people at home. I want our Congress to give them the laws they want in our northwest and up in Alaska, good land laws and sensible mineral laws like the laws the Parliament of Canada gives her people in the northwest and in the Yukon. I want to keep our farmers at home, to till the soil in the great corn lands of the middle west. I want to keep our people busy and prosperous in the Inter-Mountain States. I want to give all a chance in America to develop the natural resources of our country, and to get homes here as easily as they can get homes in Canada, without being held up for years by delays and red-tape in the Interior Department. (Applause).

"Yes, I like the Canadians. I have a deep and an abiding interest in Canada. It is a wonderful country. The people of the United States should visit it more than they do. We ought to go there instead of wasting so much of our time and substance in going year after year to Europe. We would be wiser and know more about America if we did. (Applause).

"The people of Canada are the true friends of the people of the United States. I speak advisedly when I say this, and I speak disinterestedly. We should aid them whenever we can. We should be unselfish. We should extend them a helping hand in their onward march of progress. We should glory in their prosperity. Their success is our success. They are rapidly forging to the front; their exports and their imports are increasing annually; their trade is becoming more and more important, their commerce more and more valuable; and instead of closing our doors against their products, in my opinion, we should open them wider and do everything in our power to facilitate closer commercial relations. (Applause).

"My friends, so much for Canada. Now a few words for this Society. It is doing a great work and no one wishes it more success

than I do. However, it is only on the threshold of its usefulness. It has much to do---much to learn. For instance, I asked several members to-night the definition of International Law. Not one of them could tell me. (Laughter). I remember when I passed my examinations for admission to the bar the Judge asked me to define law, I told him it was a rule of action. If I were asked to define International Law I should say it was a Rule of International Action.

"There should be a Code of International Law, written by an International Parliament, subscribed to by all the nations of the earth. It seems to me it should be little more difficult for a great International Parliamentary Body to enact laws for all the Nations than it is for our Congress to enact laws for all the States. This is merely a suggestion as a step along the road to Universal Peace. Take it into consideration and ponder over it. Herein lies progress and advancement.

"Brother Lodge's remarks about arbitration deeply interested me. We agree substantially about arbitration. I have always been in favor of arbitration. I am in favor of up-to-date treaties in the interest of Peace and Commerce and Humanity. The history of the world, however, demonstrates that there never was a treaty superior to popular prejudice---that there never was a contract between Nations stronger than the public opinion of the people of either high contracting party. What is needed is a Code of Laws International---enacted by a World Parliament---based on Justice and Righteousness.

"Judge Gray spoke eloquently for Universal Peace. But how shall we attain this consummation so devoutly to be wished? In my judgment it can only be finally brought about by international law---enacted through an International Parliament---that will be binding on all the peoples of the earth. When the peoples of all nations are capable of governing themselves through an International Parliament, to write the laws of nations, and an International Court of Justice to construe the law and enforce it---then and not till then will war cease to burden man, and Universal Peace become a thing accomplished. (Applause).

"Yes, gentlemen, the time will come when nations must live up to the law the same as individuals must do in all civilized countries. If we live up to the law as individuals we are good men and good women

and good citizens. If nations would live up to the law of justice and righteousness they would be good nations. There would be no war then. I am a man of peace. It was born in me. As many of you doubtless know I am a little Irish, a little Scotch, a little Dutch, and fifty per cent German. And I married a Quaker girl from Philadelphia. (Laughter). I am so much in favor of peace that I am willing to fight for it any time. (Applause).

"Senator Lodge told us about the Monroe Doctrine---intelligently interpreted, I am in favor of that---because I am a Pan-American. Everybody on the Western Hemisphere---whether a Canadian or Mexican---a Central American or a South American---is an American to me. (Applause).

"Ours is a great Republic. The people of all lands coming to our shores have made it so. We believe in it. We are proud of it. We glory in it---glory in all that it is, all that it was, and all that it will be. And our Republic---these United States---ought to be too big to kick a cripple, especially when the cripple is down. (Applause). There is no more necessity for us to invade our sister Republic of Mexico because there is a riot at Jimiez than there would be for us to invade Canada if there should be a riot at Quebec. (Applause.) The people in Mexico, in Central America, and in South America are our friends. They live in splendid countries, in true Republics, and they are the best people in the world in gratitude and in hospitality. Some of their writings on International Law have settled great principles. They are a contented people. They live in a land of sunshine and flowers. I wish more Americans would travel in Central and South America and get acquainted with the good people of those wonderful countries. Now full of gratitude to us they would be if we would leave them alone to work out their own destiny.

"The people of these Central and South American countries are friendly to the United States. They look to us for protection and sisterly sympathy; they need our help in their industrial progress; they desire our aid in the marketing of their product; they want our financial assistance in the development of their natural resources; and their resources and their products are greater and richer than

those of countries far across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. We should aid them in their struggle for better conditions; we should extend them a helping hand in their onward march of progress; we should glory in their prosperity. Their exports and imports are increasing annually; their trade is becoming more and more important; their commerce more and more valuable. We want their products and they want our products, and all barriers that prevent a fairer exchange of goods, wares and merchandise between us and these countries should, in so far as possible, be eliminated. It will be for the best interests of the people of our own country, to the lasting benefit of the people of these Central and South American countries, and for the mutual advantage of each and all---binding us together in closer ties of friendship and making for the peace and the prosperity and the industrial progress of the Western Hemisphere. (Applause).

"We ant peace on the Western Hemisphere. That is easy. We can have it if we want it. All we need to do is just live up to the Golden Rule of Nations, and do unto others as we would that others should do unto us. That is all---and it is all so simple and so easy. (Applause).

"We should not kick one of these little Republics when it is helpless. They will be grateful to us if we leave them alone---as grateful as the Irishman who died and left all his property to Callahan, "because he never kicked me when I was down". (Laughter). And so these little Republics to the south just ask us not to kick them when they are down---to just leave them alone.

"Why should we kick them? Would we like it if the situation were reversed? I will stand by Senator Lodge, and with every other Representatives in the Capitol until the cows come home, in favor of a policy of minding our own business, and not be trying all the time to mind the business of other peoples in other countries. (Applause).

"So much for that, and that is a good deal. (Laughter). Yes, a great deal more than I expected to say when I got up to make an impromptu speech. I know nobody here, however, will repeat what I have said to-night. It might be gratifying to many of whom I think much. (Laughter).

"Now a few words in conclusion. We will never have peace in

the world until we have common sense in the world. We will never have common sense in the world until we get over national pride, and national prejudice, and national selfishness, and national injustice. Nations are all more or less human. History teaches us that nearly all the great wars of the world have been fought for conquest. We should put an end to wars of conquest. It could easily be accomplished if the leading countries could once agree that no nation should be permitted to take by force any land from any other nation. That would settle it. That would reduce war to a minimum. (Applause). We will never be able, however, to go that far along the road of Peace and Progress and Civilization until by common consent all the Nations of the world agree to establish an International Court of Justice. In our States we have Courts, and sheriffs to execute the orders of the Courts. In the National Government we have Federal Courts, and marshals to execute the decrees of these Courts. When individuals have trouble they do not settle the dispute now as of old by combat, but they get a lawyer and take the case into Court. When the case is tried and decided that settles the controversy, no matter which side is dissatisfied, because there is the power of the Court--the sheriff--to put the judgment into execution. So to bring about Universal Peace we must begin by establishing an International Court of Justice on whose bench all the Nations of the world will be fittingly represented. Then whenever a Nation has a grievance against another Nation, before it can go to war about the controversy, it must take the matter into the International Court of Justice, and when that great Court renders its judgment, the Nations to it will be bound by it. Public opinion will enforce the judgment.

"When we get such an International Court of Justice, and an International Code of Laws, founded on righteousness and justice, the bright day of peace will be at hand and cruel war for conquest will be no more. Then and not till then will Peace reign with good will to all nations, and progress and prosperity, in the name of humanity and civilization will walk hand in hand from the Occident to the Orient, and from one end of the earth to the other. (Applause).



Price (5) Cents

THE SWASTIKA

A Periodical of Protest and Progress



THE SCIENCE *of* HOW TO GET RICH

Vol. 1

JUNE, 1915

No. 1

Issued by

The Swastika Science Society

203 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

卐 THE SWASTIKA 卐

THE SWASTIKA is talismanic. It has been known since pre-historic times as an emblem of good luck. The word is from the Sanskrit and means "weal-making." The four branched monogrammatic sign has been found in Asia, Africa, Europe and America. It was known first in the bronze age, and it occurs in the Swiss Lake dwellings. In the historic period it is found in Japan, Korea, China, Thibet, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, France, Scandinavia, Germany, Great Britain, Alaska, Mexico, Peru, Brazil, and various parts of the United States. It was known in early India, Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Persia and Africa.

Its origin as a symbol has been the object of endless speculation; some scholars say it is a solar symbol; others an earth symbol, and others that it is merely decorative. The cross, the lotus petal, the circle, etc., have been suggested as derivations.

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1915

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INTRODUCTION

If you read what is printed in the following pages you will find out how you can save half your taxes every year by voting for your own pocket once a year. This is the Science of How to Get Rich.

We all pay taxes—that is something of value—directly or indirectly—for the support of the government. There is no escape from taxation—but death—and who wants to die?

It is an axiom of economics that the less you are worth, in dollars and cents, the more you must pay for the support of the Government, in comparison to the dollars and cents owned by others.

In the last analysis the Poorest Man in the State pays more, according to what he owns, to support the Government, than the Richest Man in the State pays, according to what he owns, to support the Government.

If you want to Get Rich you must save your money. The more you save the Quicker you Get Rich. If you want to keep out of trouble you must save more than you spend. If you want to be Happy you must keep out of Debt. This rule constitutes the economic philosophy of life. Very simple—but, just the same, difficult.

You are a rentpayer, or a taxpayer, and you know something about the heavy burdens of Taxation; something about the High Cost of Living; something about the Increasing Cost of Government; something about the Trials you have, month in and month out, to make both ends meet; but unless you are a student of

Political Economy you know little about the Remedies to solve these Problems; about the means to save money; and about our scientific system to stop you from picking your own pocket.

The Swastika Science Society is organized for the purpose of educating the people in Fundamental Economics—that is, how to save money—and, hence, How To Get Rich. It publishes every now and then, a letter, or an essay, or a speech, on the subject matter, that is worth preserving, written or spoken, by a student and a thinker—that is, by someone who knows what he, or she, is talking about or writing about. The Society knows if the people will carefully read and consider what we publish, it will give them food for thought—in other words, set them thinking—and if the principle is right, and we can get the people to study it, and to think about it, and to understand it, and, what is more, to vote for it, the principle, sooner or later, will win and vindicate itself.

So that which follows has been cut from the daily newspapers for preservation in our files, and is considered by our Society of sufficient permanent value and historic interest, to be reprinted because of the clear, concise, and eloquent manner it tells simple truths concerning an economic reform, and does it in a manner so different from that of any other writer or speaker, that we consider it, from an economic viewpoint, as unique as it is instructive and incontrovertible.

THE SWASTIKA SCIENCE SOCIETY.

WHY I AM FOR PROHIBITION.

THE ECONOMICS OF THE LIQUOR QUESTION.

A DOLLAR SAVED IS A DOLLAR
MADE.

AN ELOQUENT SPEECH BY A RE-
MARKABLE MAN.

READ THIS GREAT SPEECH AND
LEARN HOW YOU CAN SAVE HALF
THE TAXES YOU PAY, AND HALF THE
EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT. IT WILL
SHOW YOU THE SOLUTION OF THE
HIGH COST OF LIVING. THE MORE
OFTEN YOU READ THIS SPEECH, THE
BETTER OFF YOU WILL BE—MEN-
TALLY, MORALLY, PHYSICALLY AND
FINANCIALY.

EX-GOVERNOR SULZER'S SPEECH ON
PROHIBITION
DELIVERED IN CORNING, NEW YORK,
SUNDAY NIGHT, MAY 9, 1915

[Reprinted from the Corning Leader.]

Former Governor Sulzer—"Plain Bill"—got a
rousing reception last night, when he spoke to
no less than 2,500 people who packed, to its
capacity, the First Congregational Church.

The pastor, Rev. Dr. Clinton J. Taft, in in-
troducing Mr. Sulzer, called him the first orator,
and the greatest moral reformer in New York;
a man who had sacrificed the highest office in
the State on the altar of principle—the principle
of honest government—and declared that the

audience assembled was the largest that had ever crowded the church to hear a speaker since he had been its pastor—going on some five years.

Mr. Sulzer received a great ovation. The applause at times lasted several minutes, especially when he referred to the manner of his illegal removal from the Governorship by the Bosses, and the powers of Invisible Government.

Mr. Sulzer's lecture was entitled "Timely Topics," and for nearly two hours, he eloquently discussed, and in a forceful manner advocated Woman Suffrage; The Short Ballot; The Commission Form of Government; Prohibition; Proportional Representation; The Official Direct Primary; and The Initiative, The Referendum, and The Recall.

The Swastika Society reprints here only the portion of the lecture devoted to Prohibition. On that topic Mr. Sulzer spoke as follows:

"When they ask you why I am for Prohibition you tell them because Prohibition is the salvation of humanity; because Prohibition is the solution of the evils of intemperance; because Prohibition will save fifty per cent. of your taxes; because Prohibition will solve the problem of the High Cost of Living; because Prohibition will cut in half the expenses of government; and because Prohibition is an economic reform that will work a revolution in the industrial development of our country.

"Tell them that Prohibition is also a great Moral Reform; that Prohibition refuses to temporize with vice; that Prohibition will not compromise with immorality; that Prohibition is a principle; that a principle is either right or wrong; that we know the principle of Prohibition is right; and that every workingman, every employer of labor, every farmer, every taxpayer, and every law abiding citizen in the

State should be for Prohibition because it will do more for morality; more to reduce taxation; more for the social uplift; more for economic betterment; more to make the home happy; more to remedy the high cost of living; and more for the common weal, take it all in all, than any other single agency in America.

"Tell them I have carefully studied the question of Prohibition; that I know what I am talking about; that Prohibition has become an issue in politics; that Prohibition will never be settled until it is settled right; and that if we present the issue, without fear, to the voters it will win in New York just as it has won in other States.

"When they tell you about the revenue to the State derived from the liquor traffic, you say, for me, that I think so much of my State that I want it to get out of the saloon business—revenue or no revenue—so that we can cut to the depths the roots of the evils of strong drink. Tell them that Prohibition, and only Prohibition, will do it. Tell them that the first step to success must be the divorcement of government from its co-partnership with John Barleycorn. Tell them that we are in a fight for a Great Cause—the Cause of Humanity—and that behind this Great Cause we are going to put the Church, and the School, and the Home, and every Moral Agency in the State.

"When they ask you why I am for the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic you tell them because I have the courage of my convictions; because I am against intemperance; because I do not straddle a fundamental principle, or side step a moral question; because I do not lie; because I will not be a hypocrite; because I love my fellow man; because I believe the time has come for the government to get out of the liquor business; because I want no man to enslave himself and to fetter his friends; because I want no man to widow his wife and to bring sorrow to the homes of his fellow

citizens; because I want no man to make his children dotards and drunkards, and the children of his associates tearstained orphans; because I am opposed to any man unnecessarily doubling his taxes; because I know from experience that a dollar saved is a dollar made; and finally, because I want to do my share, in my day and generation, to lessen the woes and the wants of humanity; to end the crimes and the criminals of society; and to decrease the poorhouses and the penitentiaries of the State.

"When they ask you why I am for the Prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages you tell them because I am against slavery—the Slavery of Alcohol; because I know strong drink is the enemy of the human race; because I am for the Home and against the Saloon. Tell them, I say, that every believer in the family; that every rentpayer; that every taxpayer; and that every friend of civic righteousness and of good government should be with us in the struggle we are making to abolish the slavery of strong drink. Tell them that every man in the State who is opposed to the evils of intemperance, which Prohibition will destroy, should come to our support, and if he will do so, the fight can be won, and victory will crown our efforts. Tell them I am doing my part, and that we must summon to the standard, to do their part, every man, and every woman, who believes in the Cause of Humanity.

"Tell them that they know, and I know, that for every dollar the State gets from its association with the liquor business, it costs the taxpayers of the State at least twenty dollars to support courts and juries, hospitals and asylums, paupers and prisoners, poorhouses and penitentiaries. Tell them that the use of alcoholic stimulants is blighting the flower of our young manhood—morally, mentally and physi-

cally — and devastating, degenerating, and decimating the human race.

"Tell them that if I were asked to sum up in a single word the cause, on earth, of more than seven-tenths of all the woes and all the wants; of all the fears and all the tears; of all the trials and all the troubles; of all the ghouls and all the ghosts; of all the crimes and all the criminals; of all the groans of helpless men, and all the griefs of weeping women, and all the heart pangs of sad-faced children, I should sum it up in that short word R-U-M—RUM—which menaces the hope of future generations, and challenges the further advance of civilization.

"When they ask you why I am for Prohibition you tell them because I want to make the hearth-side happy; because I want to make the State sober; and because I know the home can never be happy while the State is half drunk.

"Tell them that I say no State, and no country, can long endure half wet and half dry—half drunk and half sober—and that all friends of decent government should be with us in the fight to make the State sober, and to banish, forever, the saloons from our country.

"Tell them that we boast that New York is the greatest and the richest State in the Union; that it has a population of more than ten millions of people; that its estimated wealth is more than twenty billions of dollars; that its annual revenue from the liquor traffic is less than twenty millions of dollars; that the people of the State spend every year for alcoholic liquors more than four hundred millions of dollars—just twenty times as much as the State derives from the revenue; that most of the money comes from the poor, and if it were deposited in savings banks to the credit of the toilers we would have a State without a pauper.

"Tell them that it costs the State every year, directly or indirectly, on account of the evil

effects of the nefarious traffic, more than six hundreds millions of dollars—a sum that staggers the finite mind—and that if this vast sum of money could be conserved by the people the per capita wealth of New York would be greater than that of any other people, in any other time, in all the annals of the world.

“Tell them that if the State were to save the money the indulgence in strong drink costs the taxpayers annually, and the same were utilized for public purposes, it would develop our great water powers, and give us light, heat, and power free of cost; that it would build the best dirt roads and the greatest railways, since the days of the Cæsars; that it would erect the most beautiful public buildings the eye of man has ever witnessed—all poems in stone—challenging the admiration of every lover of the beautiful; that it would dig the widest and the deepest canals ever constructed on earth; that it would rear to heaven the finest and the most magnificent schoolhouses, for the children of women, ever modeled by the genius of ingenuity; and that, beyond all, and above all, it would make our people sober and industrious and efficient, and capable of producing in every avenue of trade, every channel of commerce, and every line of endeavor more than twenty per cent. of what they now produce, and hence, to that extent, increase the earning and the saving capacity of our workers.

“So, in view of it all, you say for me that I am for Prohibition because I want our men and women to come out of the swales of drunkenness to the heights of soberness and get the perspective of the Promised Land; because I know from facts that those who earn their wage, in the sweat of their face, and spend it for strong drink, are robbing their families by picking their own pockets; because I know from statistics—medical and physiological—that the use of alcoholic drinks is death to brain and

brawn, and handcuffs to hope and ambition; because I know from an economic standpoint, to say nothing about its moral and its physical aspects, that the Prohibition of the manufacture and the sale of alcoholic liquors will be one of the greatest boons that ever blessed humanity; a tremendous factor for good to every man, woman and child, in the commonwealth; a harbinger to all mankind in the struggle for success; and one of the most potent agencies on earth to increase the material wealth of America, in the march of Time, and the onward and upward progress of Civilization."

THE PROHIBITION PARTY MADE NO MISTAKE WHEN IT NOMINATED WM. SULZER FOR GOVERNOR. IT WAS A MASTER POLITICAL STROKE. EVERYBODY CAN SEE THAT NOW.

WM. SULZER MADE THE GREATEST CAMPAIGN IN THE HISTORY OF NEW YORK. HE SPOKE TO VAST CROWDS IN EVERY COUNTY OF THE STATE, AND HE POLLED MORE INDEPENDENT VOTES THAN ANY OTHER CANDIDATE WHO EVER RAN FOR GOVERNOR.

MR. SULZER WOULD HAVE BEEN RE-ELECTED HAD HE SECURED THE PROGRESSIVE NOMINATION, TO WHICH HE WAS ENTITLED.

MR. SULZER WOULD HAVE BEEN THE PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATE BEYOND DOUBT HAD THEODORE ROOSEVELT KEPT HIS PROMISE NOT TO INTERFERE IN THE PRIMARY.

COL. ROOSEVELT DID INTERFERE IN

THE PRIMARY, AND HIS BREACH OF FAITH, AND LACK OF POLITICAL SAGACITY IN THE MATTER, HIS FRIENDS ADMIT TO BE THE GREATEST POLITICAL BLUNDER OF THE COLONEL'S LIFE.

READ THE FOLLOWING LETTER AND FIND OUT HOW THE PROHIBITIONISTS PUT IT UP TO TEDDY. THE COLONEL DID NOT ANSWER THIS LETTER, BUT WORKED OPENLY FOR DAVENPORT'S NOMINATION AND SECRETLY AGAINST SULZER.

THIS LETTER SPEAKS FOR ITSELF:

[Reprinted from The World.]

HEADQUARTERS
PROHIBITION PARTY
New York City

September 1, 1914.

Col. Theodore Roosevelt.

Dear Sir:

At a duly called meeting of the leaders of the Prohibition Party, held on August 31, 1914, it was unanimously voted that our Committee personally hand you this letter and request its careful consideration.

The two Progressive Parties, one known as the Progressive Party, and the other as the Prohibition Party, stand for social progress; honest government; the general welfare; and have much in common. One object, of them both, is to restore to the people the right of self government, of which, for so long a time, they have been deprived by the bi-partisan "boss system" which now controls the State of New York.

It is vital, it seems to us, when so many true men, of all parties, are justly incensed at the corruption, and the autocratic misrule, to which our State has been subjected, to take advantage of the indignation of our citizens, and place in office honest and capable men, who will carry out the policies and the principles the people now demand.

We are sincere in our efforts. We indulge the hope that you are sincere. We earnestly desire, as we trust you do, to bring about the defeat of the Bosses, and the Bosses' candidates. How can this be done? There is only one way —by the re-nomination and the re-election of Wm. Sulzer. In saying this we reflect the sentiment of the independent voters of the State regardless of past political affiliations.

The Prohibition Party has sounded public sentiment, and responding to it, has recommended to its enrolled voters, as a candidate for Governor, in the primaries, former Governor Sulzer. He is a Progressive through and through. He stands squarely on the Progressive platform. For a quarter of a century, at times under much criticism, he has initiated and led in the advocacy of progressive policies and principles, which have later been embodied in laws, and in progressive platforms. He, more, perhaps, than any other person now in public life, has been the target for the poisoned arrows of villification of the boss-ridden machines and the Invisible Government.

You know Mr. Sulzer began the work of reform in this State. While endeavoring to uphold every moral, wise, just, and honest measure, and to oppose and veto all immoral, unjust, and dishonest ones, his efforts for reform, and his rugged independence, were rewarded by his removal from office. Governor Sulzer was removed not because he did wrong, but because he would not be dishonest. The record proves it. To acquiesce in the political lynching of

such a Governor, is to be a partner in the crime, and to connive in the conspiracy. His fight for principle and honest government is the only issue in this campaign.

The machines, through their Bosses, may nominate other candidates possessing some qualifications for the office, but the cry of the plain people will be, as it now is: Why, if William Sulzer were deposed by a corrupt combination because of his honesty, his independence, and because the Bosses feared him, should he not be restored to the Governorship to finish the work he began; and how can there be, at the present time, any other logical candidate for the office but this brave and independent man who was unjustly and unconstitutionally removed?

The Prohibition Party well considered this matter before it made William Sulzer its standardbearer. We found throughout the State an overwhelming sentiment in his favor, which we could not, and cannot disregard. Why have the Progressive leaders ignored it? What Boss do they hope to serve? That is the question.

We now ask you to aid us to unite all good citizens to insure the re-election of Wm. Sulzer. Will you help? You know Mr. Sulzer's record. The people know it. The plain people trust "plain Bill" Sulzer.

In urging you to use your influence to restore Mr. Sulzer to the Governorship we are not unmindful that a word from you will be controlling in the Progressive primary. Mr. Sulzer is the most available, and the only genuine Progressive candidate in this crisis. He commands our confidence, as a man well may on whom has been centered the venom of those who stand sponsor for the present corrupt system of government. He is the only candidate who can defeat both machines—both bosses—both candidates of the bi-partisan "fifty-fifty" system.

We urge your co-operation with all honest men, regardless of party politics, to bring about his re-nomination and re-election. Will you do your part? Mark well what we say. If Mr. Sulzer is not the next Governor, the candidate of one of the Bosses will be, and the responsibility for the continuance of the bi-partisan system of graft called "fifty-fifty" will be yours.

Very respectfully,

JOHN McKEE, Chairman,

A. C. LASSWELL, Secretary.

DURING THE PRIMARY CAMPAIGN LAST YEAR MR. SULZER CHALLENGED MR. DAVENPORT TO MEET HIM IN DEBATE AT TIMES AND PLACES IN THE STATE TO BE AGREED ON. MR. SULZER'S LETTER IS A MODEL OF ITS KIND. MR. DAVENPORT DECLINED TO ACCEPT THE OFFER OF MR. SULZER.

MR. SULZER'S LETTER CHALLENGING MR. DAVENPORT TO DEBATE THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE IN THE PRIMARY FIGHT FOR THE PROGRESSIVE NOMINATION FOLLOWS:

[Reprinted from The Progressive News.]

LAW OFFICES

WM. SULZER

115 Broadway

New York, Sept. 10, 1914.

Hon. Frederick M. Davenport.

My dear Sir:

You and I are the candidates for the nomination of Governor in the Progressive Primary.

At the request of many Progressives I write to ask you to meet me before the Progressive

voters, at certain times and places, to be agreed upon, to debate the question whether you or I should receive the support, on Primary Day, of the enrolled Progressives.

I have written these Progressive voters that nothing will gratify me more than to have a series of joint debates with you. I trust you will consent. Let the Progressive voters hear us and decide whom they want to carry the standard. To that end I suggest that the questions for debate shall be the following:

FIRST: That Wm. Sulzer is a Progressive, and stands squarely for all Progressive policies and principles; that his record of six years in the Legislature, and eighteen years in Congress, and as the Governor of the State, proves it beyond successful contradiction.

SECOND: That Frederick M. Davenport is not a Progressive; that he has repudiated the essential principles of the Progressive platform; and his public record proves that he is not now, and never has been, a Progressive.

In the debate I shall take the affirmative on these propositions, and in forty-five minutes prove them to the satisfaction of any impartial Progressive voter. Then you are to have the negative side and take all the time you want in which to answer.

I suggest that we hold these joint debates in Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Albany, Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Jamestown, Hornell, Elmira, Binghamton, Middletown and such other places as may be agreed upon.

Hoping to hear from you favorably, I am,

Very truly yours,

WM. SULZER.

AFTER THE PRIMARIES, IN THE GUBERNATORIAL CONTEST, COLONEL ROOSEVELT TOOK THE STUMP FOR MR. DAVENPORT. AT FIRST THE COLONEL WAS CAREFUL TO SAY NOTHING DEROGATORY OF GOVERNOR SULZER.

TOWARDS THE END OF THE CAMPAIGN, HOWEVER, FOOL PROGRESSIVES PREVAILED ON HIM TO MAKE AN ATTACK ON MR. SULZER. A FEW NEWSPAPERS REPORTED THIS ATTACK, BUT MOST OF THEM IGNORED IT. MR. SULZER PROMPTLY REPLIED, AND SENT A LETTER TO COLONEL ROOSEVELT. THAT LETTER FOLLOWS, AND IT'S A CLASSIC OF ITS KIND.

SUFFICE IT TO SAY THE COLONEL DID NOT HAVE THE COURAGE TO MEET MR. SULZER IN JOINT DEBATE, AND CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM SAYING MUCH ABOUT THE EX-GOVERNOR AFTER HE RECEIVED THE CHALLENGE:

[Reprinted from The Herald.]

LAW OFFICES

WM. SULZER

115 Broadway

New York, Oct. 12, 1914.

Col. Theodore Roosevelt.

My dear Colonel:

Several newspapers report that you are telling the voters I deceived you. This is not true and you know it. In our talks you promised

not to interfere in the primary and you broke your word. You deceived me, and you cannot deny it.

These newspapers allege that you also said—like your political ally—Murphy—that in my campaign statement of 1912, I did not account for all the money given to me. You are aware of the facts. Every dollar, not accounted for, Murphy got—and he's got it yet—so far as I know.

In this connection I want to inform you again, and, through you, all others sailing under false colors, up the River of Doubt, that I did not make a false statement concerning my campaign of 1912—but how about the statement to which you swore—to avoid paying your taxes—that you were not a resident of New York?

Talking about campaign money, who is financing the Progressive campaign? Is it Tammany Hall? What have you to say about the Harriman campaign contribution of several hundred thousand dollars when you were a candidate? Who got that? Who accounted for it? Who got the money of the insurance companies, the trust funds of the widows and orphans, amounting to thousands and thousands of dollars? Who accounted for that when you were a candidate? What about the millions of dollars contributed by the Big Interests when you ran for President? Who accounted for that? People who live in glass houses, Colonel, should not throw stones. You say I must repent. When did you do penance?

The people want to know the facts about these things. To that end I challenge you to meet me, before the voters of the State, to discuss them, and other matters, concerning you, of which I have some personal knowledge, and the truth about the men you and Tammany are trying to put into office to continue the iniquitous system of bi-partisan graft, called "Fifty-fifty." If you will consent to a series of debates

I shall be glad to meet you at times and places to be agreed upon.

If the Bosses, graft, and "fifty-fifty" should not be interesting to the voters we can vary the discussion by telling them what we know about the charge, in some of the newspapers, that you are an ally of Tammany; about the Tennessee Coal and Iron deal; about the Panama scandal; about the Canal frauds when you were Governor; and a few other matters that will make it impossible for you to keep on fooling the people.

Now, Colonel, be a man or a mouse. Come to the front if you have the courage. The voters want to hear what you and I have to say. If you will agree to these debates I can guarantee good audiences, with the result that neither your stalking horse—Davenport—nor Murphy's "Little Boy Blue"—will get many votes on Election Day.

Very truly yours,

WM. SULZER.

THE NIGHT OF ELECTION, 1914, MR. SULZER, AT HIS HEADQUARTERS, IN THE BROADWAY CENTRAL HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, DICTATED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT TO THE REPORTERS OF THE SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS, WHO CALLED TO GET HIS VIEWS REGARDING THE RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN:

[Reprinted from the Times.]

"The verdict of the voters reverses the verdict of the 'Murphy Court of Infamy'—and it means that Murphy Must Go.

"Glynn plotted with Murphy to steal my office, but the voters refused to confirm the

theft. It will be a long time before Tammany removes another Governor because he would not be a party to the Looting of the State.

"We fought a good fight—a fight to the finish—for a principle—the principle of Civic Righteousness—and to beat the bosses; get the grafters; and to give the taxpayers honest government. We made an honest, and a dignified, and an independent fight for these principles, and the result, when analyzed, vindicates the principles.

"Suffice it to say, the principles for which we fought have been accentuated. We have won a moral victory. Our struggle has done much to purify the political atmosphere of the State. We have been useful to the citizens, and although we could not win yet we were able to defeat all along the line the enemies of good government.

"They tell me I have polled about 150,000 votes. Be that as it may, you know it was impossible for me to win, with every Boss—big or little—in the State fighting me; with every grafter—big or little—in New York denouncing me; and with every agency of the Invisible Government in the Commonwealth arrayed against me. Besides, we lacked the money, and the newspaper support, and the organization to wage a successful campaign. Then, again, in the last days of the campaign, many of my friends went over to Mr. Whitman and voted for him, for fear that the Murphy-Glynn-McCabe yellow dog ticket might win. This accounts for the slump in our vote in certain places where we had every reason to expect better results.

"However, I have no regrets; I am glad I made the fight; and I console myself with the reflection that I elected Whitman; beat Glynn; made Roosevelt look like thirty cents, and drove from public life most of the conspirators who stole the Governorship."

THE DAY AFTER ELECTION MR. SULZER WROTE TO HON. OLIN S. BISHOP, CHAIRMAN OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY, THE FOLLOWING SPLENDID AND ENCOURAGING LETTER. IT HAS THE TRUE RING.

[Reprinted from The Backbone.]

LAW OFFICES

WM. SULZER

115 Broadway

New York, Nov. 4, 1914.

Hon. O. S. Bishop,

Chairman Prohibition Party.

My dear Mr. Bishop:

Your telegram of congratulations just received. I appreciate all you say. The Prohibitionists stood by me loyally in the campaign. In the next issue of The Backbone, I want you to thank them for me, and tell them they will never have cause to regret it.

I am in the fight to stay for Prohibition, and I am going to the end of the road in the struggle for one of the greatest reforms in America. I rang true in the campaign. I want you, and our friends, never to have a doubt as to where I stand. The fight for Prohibition is moving forward, and every believer in the principle must line up and do his or her part. If the men and the women of our country will do what they know is right we shall win.

Our fight in New York was only the skirmish of the coming battle. It was impossible to win with all the Bosses—big and little—against us; and with all the agencies of Invisible Government fighting us.

Then again, in the last hours of the campaign, at least 200,000 Sulzer voters stampeded to Whitman, in order to make Glynn's defeat sure and

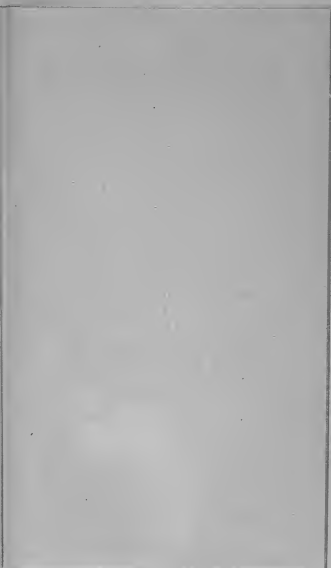
overwhelming. These voters believed that this was the best way to vindicate me, and emphasize their disapproval of my illegal removal from office. They did not want to take the chance of electing Glynn by dividing the opposition vote between Whitman and myself. If every advocate of the Cause of Prohibition; if every friend of the principles of the American Party; if every believer in the rectitude of the purposes of Wm. Sulzer, had voted for our ticket, we would have received more votes than all the other candidates combined.

However, I have no regrets. I made an honest, and an above board, and a dignified, and an independent fight for Prohibition; for clean politics; for honest government; against all the Bosses; against all the Grafters; and to perpetuate the free institutions of the Fathers. I held the banner aloft. I kept it to the front. I did not side step an issue. I never straddled a principle. If I did not win I succeeded in defeating some of the tools of the Bosses, and most of the enemies of good government. As I contemplate their prostrate forms on the political scrap heap, I am content, and console myself with the reflection that I struck Titan blows for our Cause and for our Principles. We won a moral victory, which, after all, is greater than a personal triumph.

The struggle for Prohibition in our State has only begun. I want to assure the Prohibitionists that I am with them heart and soul; that I am going to fight in the future harder than I fought in this campaign; that nothing shall deter me; and that ultimately I feel confident victory will crown our efforts, and the principles for which we contend will be a part of the organic law of the land. To that end let us firmly resolve to all stand together, to move forward, and to summon every friend of the Cause to the Standard.

Very truly yours,

WM. SULZER.





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No. 10672

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK

TALIHINA, OKLAHOMA

March 5th 1921.

Hon Wm Sulzer

115 Broadway

New York, City, N.Y.

Dear Mr Sulzer :

You will remember having met me
on one of your visits out here when I was
practicing law.

Are you going to be interested
with any of your friends on a fishing trip
this spring.

We are planing a little party and
if you have any idea of being here this spring
our fellows want to include you in our list
of guests.

Very respectfully,

J. H. Cruthis

*Ans
See for*

(Copy)

WM. SULZER
Counselor at law
115 Broadway

New York, December 1st, 1920.

Hon. William R. Hearst,
Editor N. Y. American.

My dear Mr. Hearst:

Why not have an editorial, in the New York American, in favor of a convention to revise and amend the federal constitution? Such an editorial will be timely, and should demand the consideration, if not the approval, of the thinking people of our country.

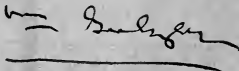
For many years I have advocated a convention to revise and amend the federal constitution in order to bring it up to date and make it workable. A long experience in the Congress convinces me that our organic law is archaic and unworkable. By virtue of it about half the time the government fails to function. How can it be otherwise when we consider that the United States is trying now to do business with a political machine that has been antiquated for more than half a century? Every student of history knows that there are things in the present constitution that should be taken out; and that there are things out of it that should be put in it.

It is my judgment that the most pressing need and immediate necessity of government in the United States is to change our present system of checks and balances--mis-called a representative government--to a genuine parliamentary government, that shall be responsive to the people, and responsible to the people; and we can only bring about the reform by a Constitutional Convention--which shall provide, among other fundamentals, for the following, viz:

1. A single term for President.
2. The direct nomination, and the direct election, of officials to the executive, the judicial, and the legislative branches of the government.
3. A single legislative body--to be called the House of Representatives--with a cabinet elected by and from its membership, and responsive to the direction of its majority, to conduct the political, the diplomatic, and the business affairs of the government.

If the New York American will take up this cause, and make an aggressive fight for these reforms, success will crown its efforts, and we will ere long get the reforms now essential to make the United States government function intelligently.

Very sincerely,



William Sulzer

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By Wm. Sulzer--Ex-Governor of New York, and former Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

[*Reprint from the Editorial Page,*
N. Y. World—February 25, 1919]

For many years I have advocated an International Tribunal to prevent war, make the earth a better place in which to live—and the world safe for the Brotherhood of Man.

Civilization is a thing of slow growth. It is only when some great convulsion, or catastrophe, rocks the earth, and stirs humanity to the depths, that men and women realize the impotency of present agencies, and demand new methods to promote better conditions.

The great war has demonstrated the weakness of the past, and the necessity for something better in the future.

The League of Nations is a step forward in the onward struggle of hopeful humanity. Every friend of freedom, every lover of liberty, every apostle of peace, and every ambassador of goodwill on earth toward men and women should favor the plan of the Paris Peace Conference. As outlined it may not be perfect, but time will remedy its imperfections, and men of vision will strengthen its final consummation.

All nations must, in the last analysis, be members of the World League, and then it will be only a rope of sand unless it is given the power to legislate, and to adjudicate, and to execute. It is the possession of these powers that makes our League of States invulnerable and impregnable.

Reactionaries are ever afraid of progress and fearful of experiments. They forget that the advancement of civilization is along the paths of experiment and compromise. These present-day

The forward-looking people of the earth now say to these backward-looking men, in Congress and out of Congress, that as the governmental instrumentalities of the past have signally failed to save humanity from the calamities of the present, the people of progress—the men and women of the Now, who are facing the dawn of the better day—are unafraid of the League of Nations, because they want the future to be better, and because they know it cannot be worse.

Let us have no fear of the progress of peace. The only thing to dread is the paleozoics who preach stagnation—the stagnation which means political death to men and nations. As against these croakers and their forgotten prototypes, the liberals of the earth—the friends of Brotherhood—now take their place with the world men—with Socrates and Plato, Marcus Aurelius and Dante, Henry of Navarre and Saint-Simon, Grotius and Puffendorf, Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin, Robert Burns and James Russell Lowell, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, Oscar Straus and William H. Taft—and last but not least, Woodrow Wilson.

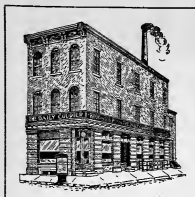
A century hence there will be only two kinds of people on this earth—those who are big enough, and brave enough, and liberal enough to say, "The world is my country," and those who are so little, and so fearful, and so ignorant that they cannot say it.

The men who are now welding the League of Nations are building better than they know. They are the great men of today. Time will place them among the immortals, and give them a large page in the annals of civilization.

These world men are now doing a great work for the men and women of the earth—only some of us cannot see it because we are too close to them. Every great man is mediocre to those right around him. Big things—like the League of Nations—gain in size with time. They loom larger as distance lends enchantment to the view. This is true of men as well as mountains. It takes perspective to show the size and the importance of things.

Do not be too sure that you know a great man when you see him. You may be too close to him. Only the few have the faculty to see in the future—but no one can foretell what the world is going to say about a man after he has been dead a thousand years. If you want to know, however, who are the great men of today, come back a hundred years from now—and then read history—especially the history of the League of Nations.

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Gets into the hearts and
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more than 100 diversified
manufacturing industries.

Camden has 9 banking in-
stitutions as solid as a rock.

Camden has 50 churches,
50 public schools, and 50
building and loan asso-
ciations.

Hon. Wm. Sulzer
115 Broadway
New York City

My Dear Governor:-

Many thanks for your kind letter of
yesterday. But, I insist that the pleasure of
the New York trip on Saturday was all mine.
You were in indeed very kind to me, and of
course, the kindest consideration was that of
the honor as a guest at dinner with you and
Mrs. Sulzer. Mrs. Sulzer's splendid cooking
was the only thing that I was talking about all
day after getting home. Mrs. Haaga was pleased
immensely with the delicious marmalade. She says
she has never eaten anything to equal it.

Herewith you will please find copy
letters which went forward late last night to
three friends in the west. There are several
others that I will get off tomorrow. I will
write to several Black Men in Chicago and have
them turn out to meet me and work with me to
accomplish our aims.

Of course, I expect to hear from you
in Camden before leaving. In order to be certain
to reach me in this drive no mail should be
addressed to me in Camden which cannot be dispatched
from New York not later than Thursday night. After
that time, I would suggest that you address me in
care of the Sherman House, Chicago.

I told you I would report the cost of the
return fare Philadelphia-Chicago. I find this to
be \$41.26 plus \$9.90 sleeper, a total of \$51.16
which does not provide for extra-fare trains.

Please keep me advised of your wishes
with respect to my activities. I assure you that
any trust you may place in me, will not be violated.

Very Sincerely Yours,

Chas. J. Haaga



Saugerties and New York Steamboat Co.

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Sundays at 6.00 p. m.*

JOHN A. SNYDER
PRESIDENT

Saugerties, N. Y. October 31st 1916.

Mr William Sulzer,
115 Broadway,
New York City.

Dear Governor:-

I have just made a deal with the Chairman of the Republican Committee at Saugerties. He to furnish the stamped envelopes if I will typewrite the envelopes to send the booklets to every enrolled Democrat in the Town of Saugerties.

Send me 400 books of "What shall we do about it" Also 400 cards to show how to vote for Whitman on the American Party Ticket. Do not send the book, "Lest we Forget" We have talked it over and find that ^{can} we influence more votes on the State Ticket with the Democrats then we can by attacking Wilson.

Send as soon as possible.

Excuse writing as I am in hurry to have boat take this letter down,

Yours truly,

Sam M. Lunge

"Golightly Morrill always tells the truth—and doesn't care a continental whether he gets arrested for telling it or not."—William Sulzer, former governor of New York.

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U. S. A.**



American Party Platform 1916.

HUGHES AND FAIRBANKS FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE- PRESIDENT.

The American Party, in National Convention assembled, in Minneapolis, July 22, 1916, declares for the Perpetuity of the Free Institutions of America; and demands these essential reforms to further the Brotherhood of Man.

1. Peace and comity with all nations—entangling alliances with none—and the establishment of an International Court of Justice—having jurisdiction of every International Question, with ample powers to enforce its decrees, and insure the peace of the World.

2. Equal suffrage to women by the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Federal Constitution; equality of all before the law; river and harbor improvements; good roads; the reclamation of desert lands; an American Merchant Marine; a more scientific system of taxation; an honest dollar; the safeguarding of American citizens at home and abroad; and an honest, and an efficient, and an economical administration of public affairs—free from graft—with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

3. Human rights before property rights; the man above the dollar; the protection of those who toil; the promotion of social justice; the betterment of the home; harmony between capital and labor by a more





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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

SIDNEY MORSE

GRAND LODGE
OF
FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS
OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK
MASONIC HALL
NEW YORK

January 28, 1921.

Dear Brother Sulzer:

May I inquire if you have accepted any engagement for an address for the approaching Washington's birthday and if not whether you will be willing to hold yourself free to make such an engagement, under the auspices of this Bureau? A number of applications have already come to hand and others are being received daily.

I should also very much appreciate the courtesy if you would fill up on the enclosed form the information requested and indicate about how many addresses you feel justified in volunteering in the service of the Craft.

By order of the Grand Master this Committee is engaged in registering all available Masonic talent in furtherance of the educational plan proposed by the Grand Master in his St. John's Day Address, and your co-operation will be warmly appreciated.

Faithfully and fraternally yours,


Sidney Morse

Mr. Wm. Sulzer,
115 Broadway,

THUS SPAKE
A MAN.

DO NOT PASTE CLOSE TO
THE BINDING: LEAVE AT
LEAST $\frac{1}{4}$ INCH FROM BACK
OF LEAF.

THIS AVOIDS UNDUE
STRAIN ON THE LEAVES
AND FILLS BOOK EVENLY.



Thus Spake A Man.

READ ALL OF THIS PAM-
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TO KNOW THE TRUTH.

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Headquarters: Broadway Central Hotel—
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FORMER GOVERNOR WM. SULZER.

A Short Sketch of the Man Who Does Things.

By Julius Chambers, F.R.G.S.

(Formerly Managing Editor of the N. Y.
Herald.)

A man who does things, and who has distinguished himself in straight law, and clean politics, is former Governor Wm. Sulzer—lawyer, lecturer, legislator, traveler, and liberal-minded statesman.

Mr. Sulzer was born in Elizabeth, N. J., on March 18, 1863. His father was a farmer, and William was educated in the country school, and later for the law at Columbia College.

He was duly admitted to the bar, in New York City, on attaining his majority in 1884. He soon became recognized as a sound lawyer, and an eloquent public speaker. He has taken an active part in every political campaign, and has been prominent in public life, since 1884. His success in law has only been equalled by his prominence in politics. He was elected to the New York Assembly in 1889, and re-elected for five years. He made a splendid record for usefulness to the State at Albany. No one ever questioned his honesty, his sincerity, or his capability. He served with distinction in the sessions of 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, and 1894.

He was the leader there of his party, and the Speaker in 1893—one of the youngest on record.

From the first the newspapers were his friends. In 1894 the old Tenth District, of New York City, sent him to the Fifty-fourth

Congress. He was returned for eighteen years by increasing majorities. His course in Congress was one of hard work and steady independence. He was a staunch friend of the suffering Cubans. His sympathies are world-wide; his ideas are broad; and his work national—and international.

He introduced the law declaring war against Spain; the constitutional amendment by which United States Senators are elected by direct votes of the people; and the law increasing the pay of letter carriers. He is the author of the resolution denouncing Jewish outrages in Russia; the law increasing the pensions of the soldiers and sailors of the Union; the law to raise the wreck of the Maine; the new copyright law; and the income tax amendment to the Constitution. He is the author of the law to re-establish the merchant marine; for a general parcels post; for national aid in the construction of good roads; the law to create the Department of Labor, with a Secretary having a seat in the Cabinet; the law to decrease the cost of living by placing the necessities of life on the free list; and of many other measures in the interest of the people of the country.

His record at Albany, and at Washington, is a monument to his untiring zeal, his indefatigable industry, and his constructive statesmanship.

Some people have asserted, and many have assumed, that Mr. Sulzer has been a Tammany man. This is not true. He never was a Tammany man; but, on the contrary, from his first entrance into politics, he has always fought Tammany—and all Tammany stands for—the Spoils system and the Graft system. Tammany always was hostile to Mr. Sulzer's political ambitions, but Mr. Sulzer always won, as an Independent Democrat, because the people, regardless of politics, were loyal to him, and he was loyal to the people.

Mr. Sulzer served on several important committees in the House of Representatives, and as the chairman of the important and responsible Committee on Foreign Affairs, he made good as a diplomat by keeping the Country out of war with Mexico; by abrogating the treaty with the Czar; by reorganizing the Diplomatic and Consular Service; and aiding the establishment of the Republic of China. He is widely read; is considered a fine international lawyer; and has demonstrated great ability along legislative, executive, and diplomatic lines.

Mr. Sulzer was the choice of the up-State Democrats, for Governor, in 1912, and was elected by over 200,000 votes—the largest plurality ever given a candidate for that office in the history of New York.

Immediately on taking the oath of office he began to do things for the people; for reform; for civic righteousness; and for honest government. He made a great record for honesty, for efficiency, and for practical economy. He saved more money for the taxpayers in less time than any other Executive in the annals of New York. He wrote more good laws on the statute books, for the plain people, during his brief term; than any other Governor in the history of the State. He was, beyond successful contradiction, the greatest reform Governor in the pages of the commonwealth. He fought the corrupt Bosses; Wall Street; the confederated railroads; the looting plunderbund; the bipartisan "fifty-fifty" grafters; the enemies of the public schools; and every agency of "invisible government"—and all these enemies of the State finally combined against him, and conspired to oust him from office. After months of a farcical, illegal, and unconstitutional trial, in a packed political court, this corrupt force succeeded—by threats, perjury, bribery, and intimidation—in removing the Governor by just two

votes. The Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, who presided over the travesty, called the "Murphy Court of Infamy," declared the proceedings anarchy, and a disgrace to the State.

The Bosses, and the enemies of the people, trumped up all sorts of absurd charges against the Governor, but every one of them was disproved; nevertheless the marionettes in the Court of the Bosses were "ordered" to oust the Governor, because, they said, his campaign statement of election expenses was irregular, notwithstanding that it was shown to be in accordance with the law.

The laws of New York declare the Governor can only be removed "for wilful and corrupt misconduct in office." The conspirators in the "Murphy Court of Infamy" removed the Governor on the flimsy charge of something he is alleged to have omitted to do long prior to his inauguration—and even this charge was shown to be false.

Mr. Sulzer is the first man in the history of the world to be removed from a great elective office by a "Packed Star Chamber Political Court" for an alleged trivial dereliction committed, or omitted, before he took office. The illegality and the absurdity of the Murphy proceeding must be as apparent to the layman as it is to the lawyer. The so-called Quack trial was a travesty on Justice.

The truth of the matter is that the Governor refused to be bossed; worked for the people instead of Invisible Government; could not be bought or bullied; and had set in motion the machinery of justice to send political grafters to prison. As one of the Bosses put it after the trial: "We had to put him out or he would put us in"—meaning that if the Bosses did not remove the Governor, the Governor would send them to prison for robbing the taxpayers.

Just so soon as the Governor was removed, in the latter part of October, 1913,

the people re-elected him to the Legislature, on an independent ticket, by a majority of 3 to 1 over all other candidates.

This was the Governor's vindication, and a fitting rebuke to the Bosses and their manikins in the "Murphy Court of Infamy."

Besides the Governor, in a series of memorable speeches, addressed to the largest crowds which ever assembled in New York, told the true story of the Tammany rottenness in the State, with the result that the entire Tammany ticket was defeated by an avalanche of ballots from the indignant voters. Mr. Sulzer did things in the Legislature of 1914—and made good. That fall he ran for Governor as an Independent, and polled 127,600 votes, more than six times the normal independent vote, and succeeded in defeating every Tammany candidate running for office in the State.

Mr. Sulzer's record speaks for itself. It is a monument of human endeavor in the vineyard of the people. It needs no eulogy. He is the author of more good laws for mankind than any man to-day in America. He has run seventeen times for high public office, and was never defeated before the people but once—in 1914. He is absolutely honest; fearless; true blue; an intense American; a genuine statesman; a man who does things; a great reformer; and the most eloquent champion of a righteous cause in our land.

Mr. Sulzer is a plodder who makes progress; a thinker who acts; an orator who talks facts; a leader who leads; a legislator who legislates; and a statesman who knows the difference between right and wrong, has the courage of his convictions, and dares to do the right regardless of personal consequences.

Mr. Sulzer is a radical. When a thing is wrong he wants to remedy the evil by destroying it root and branch. He is one of the greatest forces for good in America—

and his record proves it. He has always been a quarter of a century ahead of the times. He is popular with all sorts and conditions of people because of his inherent honesty, his generosity, and his affable manners and sunshiny disposition. No wonder he is so successful as a vote-getter, and that his loyal followers call him "Plain Bill"—and the "Friend of Man"—and that they love him for the enemies he has made.

Governor Sulzer is a "Commoner" through and through. The more you know him, the more you see of him, the more you study him at close range—the more you like him, and the more you appreciate what he has done, and glory in his trials and his triumphs. He needs no defense. His record is as clean as a hound's tooth. His career of struggle for higher and better things, from a poor farm boy to the Governorship of the greatest State in the Union, is an epic poem.

Mr. Sulzer is of large stature, standing over six feet in height, with a weight of 185 pounds, which he carries with the grace of a trained athlete. He is abstemious; has sandy hair, and steel blue eyes that look straight into yours and read your innermost thoughts. During the war with Spain he organized a regiment of volunteers and was elected colonel, but for political reasons it was not called into active service. He declined an Independent nomination for President in 1916.

Mr. Sulzer has been an extensive traveler, and has seen much of the World. In 1908 he married Miss Clara Roedelheim, of Philadelphia, and they live in the Old Home, of the late General "Joe" Hooker, the corner of Fifth avenue and Ninth street, in the heart of the Governor's Old Congressional District, New York City.

The Governor is a 32d degree Mason, has held all the honors in the craft, and years ago became a life member. He is a mem-

ber of Lloyd Aspinwall Post, G. A. R.; the Army and Navy Union; Arabic Order of the Mystic Shrine; National Geographic Society; the Eagles; the Loyal Order of Moose; the League to Secure World Peace; the Pioneers of Alaska; the Arctic Brotherhood; Manhattan Club; Press Club; Masonic Club; and other social clubs in Washington and New York City. His most profitable reading has been history, philosophy, and political economy; and his advice to young men is to work hard, cultivate good habits, have a motive in life, and a positive determination to succeed.

"The fight for honest government must go on. William Sulzer has played his part well, and his race is not yet run. From the watch towers he sounds the alarm. He is the leader. The great living issue he typifies and represents, pulsating with the life blood of humanity, will go forward until a cleaner and purer day arrives in the political life of our country."—From editorial in The Knickerbocker-Press, January 3, 1914.

If You Want to Know the Truth Read This
Great Speech of Wm. Sulzer, Who Was
the People's Governor of New York.

Delivered in the Broadway Theatre, New
York City, October 26, 1913.

(Stenographically reported, and issued by
the National Democratic League of
Clubs.)

Mr. Sulzer spoke as follows:

"Every lawyer in the State, except a
Tammany lawyer, will tell you that my
trial was illegal, and my removal from
office unconstitutional. The Murphy Court
of Infamy was a travesty on Justice—a bur-
lesque on judicial procedure. The rules of
evidence were thrown to the winds.

Removal Unconstitutional.

"The law of the State declares that the
Governor can only be removed for willful
and corrupt misconduct in office. There
was no charge against me of willful and
corrupt misconduct in office—and Mr. Mur-
phy spent, through the Frawley Committee,
nearly half a million dollars of the tax-
payers' money, in a futile effort to get some-
thing on me, but he could not prove, with
all the money, and all the agencies at his
command, that I had done wrong in office.

My record was searched by sleuths and
detectives, paid by Murphy, out of the
money of the taxpayers, from the time I
was born, and Tammany could not prove,
during all my eventful career, that I had
ever wronged a man, or a woman, or a
child.

"Then you must not forget that the Con-
stitution of the State declares that in an
Extraordinary Session of the Legislature,
no subject can be considered except a sub-
ject recommended by the Governor. I
called the Legislature together, in Extraor-
dinary Session, for the purpose of enacting

an honest, and an efficient, and an official direct nominations law—and for no other purpose. At all events I did not recommend my own removal; but notwithstanding the constitutional prohibition, the Murphy Legislature, in violation of the Constitution, recommended my removal. This was done at the dictation of Boss Murphy. What does Murphy care about the Constitution? He is working for the Boss—all the time.

"My friends advised me not to call an Extraordinary Session of the Legislature, but I was so anxious to make good—so determined to carry out the pledges of the Democratic platform, regarding direct nominations—that I did call the Extraordinary Session, in the face of the knowledge that it gave Murphy the weapon he desired to oust me from the Governorship.

Removal Was Anarchy.

"The press, and the pulpit, and the people in the street tell you my removal from office was revolutionary. They say revolutionary because I am the first man in history, elected to a high office, who was removed from that office for an alleged something the Boss declared I forgot to do before I assumed office! Every honest man in the State will tell you my ouster from office was anarchy. The decision of Judge Cullen in my favor—and not the verdict of Tammany—will be the judgment of posterity.

A voice: "Bill, you were robbed!"

Mr. Sulzer: "Yes, I was robbed—robbed of the office the people gave me—by the Boss—because I would not be a creature of the Boss—because I would not obey his orders; because I would not betray the people; and because I would not be a party to the looting of the taxpayers.

A Star Chamber Proceeding.

"The revolutionary proceedings, in the Murphy Court of Infamy, show that I was

removed from office for an alleged something they said I did, or forgot to do, before I became Governor; and the Court resorted to the convenient expedient of going into secret session, behind closed doors, and by a majority vote, overriding the law and the Constitution of the State, and putting in the record everything Murphy wanted to put in, and keeping out of the record everything Murphy wanted to keep out—a Star Chamber proceeding that disgraced the State, and made a farce of the law and the Constitution. Whenever my lawyers offered testimony to disprove the framed-up charges of the Boss, the Murphy Court went into secret session, behind closed doors, and by a majority vote, excluded it. Whenever incompetent, irrelevant, inadmissible, and perjured testimony was offered against me, no matter how ridiculous, no matter how remote, no matter how flimsy, no matter how false, the Murphy Court went into secret session, behind closed doors, and by a majority vote, agreed to put it in the record, in order to try to blacken my character, and to prejudice my case in the estimation of the public. The whole proceeding, from beginning to end, was revolutionary and in violation of the law, and the Constitution, of the State. The record proves it. No one can successfully assert to the contrary—and besides there were men who sat in that so-called Court who were not members of it, and men in it who had no right to vote, and these men voted against me. That is the only way they could get me out. The Court was packed!

"I am the only man in history removed from a great elective office for something they say I omitted to do, after I was born, and before I was elected—and sworn into office—and even this flimsy and far-fetched charge was subsequently shown to be false.

"The Murphy Court was a Court of only

limited jurisdiction, under the Constitution, but it overrode the law, and the precedents, and the Constitution—assumed jurisdiction of everything on earth—to do the dirty work of the Boss, behind closed doors, in secret Star Chamber fashion.

Murphy's High Court of Infamy.

"The people know that I was removed from the Governorship because Mr. Murphy controlled the Assembly, and ordered my removal when he found out I would not be a rubber stamp. He controlled most of the members of The High Court of Infamy; dictated its procedure, and wrote the judgment. Murphy was the Judge and the Jury; the Prosecutor and the Bailiff.

"They called it the High Court of Impeachment, but history will call it Murphy's High Court of Infamy. The trial was a human shambles; a libel on law; a flagrant invasion of constitutional rights; a disgrace to our civilization; and the verdict overturned the safeguards of liberty and the precedents of three centuries.

History Will Do Me Justice.

"The Judgment will not stand the test of time. History will do me justice.

"While I was Governor the Boss controlled the Legislature by practically a two-thirds vote, and told me if I did not do what he demanded he would paralyze my administration; and yet his 'framed-up' charges against me were so flimsy, and so far-fetched, and so absurd, and so insubstantial, that they say Tammany had to use force, and fraud, and bribery, amid disgraceful scenes never before witnessed in a legislative assembly, to finally secure a majority vote against me. The truth of the corruption, and the proofs of the infamous conspiracy to get me out of my office, will

all come out, sooner or later, and when they do come out they will be my complete vindication.

The Frame-Up.

"The Murphy impeachers said they removed me from office because my campaign statement was erroneous; but on a thorough examination it was subsequently shown to be correct. That is the truth. As a matter of fact the charges made against me to get me out of office, were all 'framed-up,' and have been shown to be false, and part and parcel of the political conspiracy to take away my office because I would not be a tool for the Boss, and a creature of Invisible Government.

The Truth.

"When history is written as history should be written—to tell the truth—the reasons for my removal from the Governorship will be the following:

"First: My successful efforts to make the railroads of the State conserve human life.

"Second: My successful efforts to secure the enactment of the laws I recommended to compel honest dealings on the New York Stock Exchange.

"Third: My successful efforts to secure the repeal of the notorious charter of the Long Sault Development Company, by which the State of New York received back its greatest water power and the most valuable of its natural resources.

"Fourth: My defiance of the Boss and my determined fight for honest and genuine direct primaries.

"Fifth: My blunt refusal to be a proxy Governor, or a rubber stamp, for the Boss.

"Sixth: My indignant refusal to do what the Boss demanded regarding legislation, and appointments, and my emphatic NO to the demand to stop the investigations of

thefts of millions of dollars, which were being made, under my direction, to expose graft, and punish the grafters.

"Seventh: My antagonism to Invisible Government, and my determination to set in motion the machinery of the Courts, in various counties of the State, to indict the grafters, bring them to justice, and recover for the people the money the grafters had stolen from the people.

"To the impartial historian, and the unprejudiced investigator, who will take the time to go over the record, and familiarize himself with the real facts, it will be apparent that these were the true reasons why I was removed from the office of Governor of the State of New York. The Murphy reasons are too ridiculous for consideration by sane and sensible people—and do not forget a change of two votes in the Court of the Boss would have prevented my removal, and defeated the Boss, and it may be interesting to know how the necessary votes were finally secured.

Tried to Do Too Much.

"They say I tried to do too much while I was Governor. Well, that is a virtue, and not a weakness. At all events what I did, and all I tried to do, was for the people and the commonwealth. No doubt the future historian, going over the record, will say I tried to do too much and failed; but, if he is just, he will be compelled to say that all that I did, and all that I tried to do, was good and not evil; was for the State and not the Boss; was for the right and against the wrong—and I would rather be right than be Governor.

Would Not Do Wrong.

"The people know that my removal from office by Boss Murphy was because I would not be a 'proxy' Governor; because I would not be dishonest; because I insisted on

stopping graft; because I stood by the taxpayers; because I would not do wrong; because I would not do what Murphy wanted me to do; because I would not be a Murphy tool! and because I refused to be a party to the looting of the State. If I had wanted to make money I could have taken things easy, served out my term, and retired with a million dollars.

The Voters Will Decide.

"The voters will answer Boss Murphy on Election Day. They will tell the Boss what they think of him; they will decide; and the only way the voters can express their opinion of the Boss, and their indignation about my removal from office, and their desire for honesty in public affairs, is to vote against every candidate on the Tammany ticket from top to bottom. That is the way to beat the 'Chief.'

Murphyism Must Go.

"Murphyism must go, or our free institutions are doomed! No man, and no official can serve Murphy and the People; the 'Chief' and the State; if he is true to Murphy he must be false to Duty; he cannot be loyal to the one without betraying the other.

"The way to beat the 'Boss' is to beat the candidates of the 'Boss.' The Murphy ticket should be defeated in the interests of good government, and for the general welfare. Murphyism must go! It is a disgrace to the City and the State.

No Traitors.

"America is America. The ideals of true Americanism and genuine Patriotism are coming to the front. The old regime is passing away. The people demand social justice, economic freedom, and civil and religious liberty. Our free institutions must and shall be preserved. Traitors have been

rioting in the rich reward of treason, but by the living God, they have gone too far.

Tammany a Blot.

"Tammany, under Murphyism, is treason to the Government; Tammany, under Murphyism, is not a political organization—it is a criminal conspiracy to loot the City and the State; a stumbling block to Democracy and to Progress; a big black blot on the fair escutcheon of the Empire State; and a menace to civic righteousness and honest government.

The Brady \$25,000.

"Mr. Murphy has taken several days to answer my charges about the Anthony N. Brady \$25,000, which I refused from Judge Beardsley, and which Judge Beardsley then gave to Mr. Murphy for campaign purposes, and which the 'Chief' never accounted for.

"Mr. Murphy says now he gave this money back to Brady, but Brady is dead and can't corroborate Murphy. Was anyone with them when the money was paid back? Judge Beardsley gave the money to Murphy in bills.

Did Murphy Give It Back?

"Why didn't Murphy give the money back to Beardsley? Were there any witnesses present, so that Judge Beardsley can feel sure that the money he gave Murphy was returned to Brady? Will Judge Beardsley take Murphy's word for it? Why don't you ask Judge Beardsley what he thinks of Murphy's story?

"Everybody knows that Brady and Murphy, at that time, were not on speaking terms. Let Murphy make an affidavit that he paid the money back to Brady, stating the circumstances of the payment in detail.

Murphy Deals in Jobs.

"Those who know tell us Boss Murphy is in politics for all there is in it. He is a

dealer in jobs and contracts—and not in the game for his health. They say he is worth \$5,000,000.00. WHERE DID HE GET IT?

A Voice: "You didn't get a square deal."

Mr. Sulzer: "No, I did not have a Chinaman's chance' in Murphy's Court. Everybody knows that my trial, from beginning to end, was a political lynching—the consummation of a deep-laid political conspiracy. The Murphy Court ruled in everything against me, and ruled out everything in my favor. The rules of evidence were thrown to the winds. The Court was packed to convict. A horse-thief, in frontier days, would have received a squarer deal. In my removal from the Governorship, by Boss Murphy, the State witnessed the most monstrous perversion of Justice in all its history.

The Removal Farce.

"Mr. Murphy, and the Special Interests, which I antagonized, won a temporary victory; but the fight—for honest government—will go on. The farce of my trial will have a good effect in the end. It has opened the eyes of the people to the graft of millions of dollars annually, and it will hasten the adoption of the initiative and the referendum; bring about the recall, by the people, of public officials; and write upon the statute books other reforms, especially an efficient direct primary law, so that the voters, instead of the bosses, will nominate, as well as elect, all officials to public office. The people now know that the power to nominate public officials is the power to control these public officials; and that we cannot have honest government in the City and State of New York until the voters nominate and control all public officials.

Was an Honest Governor.

"As the Governor I was honest in all things, and faithful to my trust. No influence could control me in the performance of my duty but the dictates of my conscience. I lost the office, but I kept my self-respect. I would rather lose the Governorship than lose my soul; I would rather be Right than be Governor; and no Governor can serve God and Mammon; the State and the Special Interests; the PEOPLE and the Boss; the Visible and the Invisible government.

"Let us indulge the hope that my loss of the Governorship will be the people's gain. Misfortunes are often blessings in disguise. If my undoing by an ignorant and an arrogant and a desperate 'Boss' shall be the humble means of forever destroying 'Bossism' in the City and the State of New York, I shall be content, and feel that I have not struggled in vain for better things.

Murphy Is Rattled.

"Mr. Murphy is rattled; he knows his ticket is beaten; his statement in reply to my charges is feeble, and it is all too bad for Tammany.

"The Boss wants us to believe that he turns away money. That will make the braves laugh. I have asked Mr. Murphy to tell us where he got his fortune. He dare not answer. How do you suppose he grew rich if he turns away money that comes his way? But everybody believes the 'Chief' got the Brady money. I know it—and there are others.

"You can rob the people for years; you can fool the people for years; you can outrage the people for years; without letting them know it—for years; but when the people find out how they have been plundered: how they have been fooled; how they have been outraged, their wrath is terrible.

Murphy a Menace.

"Do not forget that Murphyism is a menace to the people; an indictment of good government; and a challenge to righteousness. We must get rid of Murphy's Boss-ship. Murphyism must go! The only way to beat Murphy is to beat the candidates of Murphy. Let it be understood that Murphy can nominate, but that Murphy cannot elect—and then no one will want Murphy's nomination, and Murphy will get out. Vote against the Murphy candidates, and you vote against Murphy. That is the only way to beat the Boss.

Are You a Democrat?

"Are you a Democrat? Remember, eternal vigilance is the price of our liberties. Progress is the watchword of humanity. He who would attempt to stop the wheels of progress is doomed to defeat. The night of party slavery has been long; sometimes it has seemed as if the day would never come; but at last the morning light of the brighter day shines through the darkest clouds of night, and hope is renewed.

"No matter what my political enemies say about me you know that the record proves I was loyal to the people. This fight is your fight—a fight for decent politics, and for an honest administration of our public affairs. In the long run it will make very little difference to me who wins—but it will make a great deal of difference to you, and to your pocketbooks, and to the people of New York. Remember, my friends, the Cause is your Cause—and you must fight for it, because when the battle is won, good government will triumph—and the victory will be yours.

"What is the use of the Democratic voters electing a man Mayor, or Governor, if the Boss can remove him if he does not do what the Boss demands? The Boss has

too much power. No Boss should have the power to nullify the verdict of the people at the polls—only the people should have that power.

Fifty-Fifty.

A Voice. "Governor, tell us about fifty-fifty?"

Mr. Sulzer: "That is a pertinent inquiry. In the old days, when I was a member of the Legislature, during the administrations of Grover Cleveland, David B. Hill, and Roswell P. Flower, the public life at Albany was honest. Now and then a corrupt man got into office, but he was soon found out—and then he was put out. During the time I was in Congress I am glad to stand here, as an American, and testify that official life in Washington is honest. Once in a while a bad man goes there, but he does not stay there long.

"When I went to Albany to be the Governor, on the first day of January, 1913, I found out that public affairs there now are quite different from what they were in the old days. It seems the atmosphere has changed. They say it is in the air. As an erstwhile Senator recently observed—'You can feel it.' In every nook and corner you hear Graft! Graft!! Graft!!! It was all so different from the old days that at first I was bewildered.

Fifty-Fifty Defined.

"Do you know I had not been Governor 24 hours before I heard whispered here and there 'fifty-fifty,' 'fifty-fifty,' 'fifty-fifty.' In the days of Cleveland and Hill and Flower I never heard of fifty-fifty. During the long time I was in Washington I never heard about fifty-fifty. It was something new to me; something I had never heard of before; something I knew nothing about. So I asked a friend, who seemed to be posted, what fifty-fifty meant. He looked at me in

amazement. 'I am surprised,' he said, 'that you do not know about fifty-fifty.' 'If I knew,' I replied, 'I would not ask you. What is it?' 'Well,' he answered, 'fifty-fifty is this: A crooked politician gets a contract to do a piece of public work. He gives the contract to a crooked contractor. The crooked contractor must steal at least 50 per cent. of the amount of money specified in the contract. If he steals less he never gets another contract. If he steals more, he becomes popular. After the crooked contractor has robbed the taxpayers of 50 per cent. of the amount of money specified in the contract, he divides up what has been stolen with the crooked politician—half and half. That is what is known around Albany as fifty-fifty. Do you now understand?' said my informant. 'Yes,' I replied. 'I now understand; and I shall see to it that fifty-fifty is eliminated from the public affairs of our State.' 'Don't you do it!' said this man. 'If you do, you will become very unpopular. You are a popular man now, Governor, and I am your friend; but if you want to get along here, don't interfere with this system of graft called fifty-fifty.' 'Yes, I will,' I replied. 'I promised the taxpayers, when I was a candidate, that if I were elected, I would give them an honest administration, and I am going to do it—come weal or woe.'

"Then I began, as you know, a series of investigations on the Capitol work; on the Canal work; on the Prison work; and on the Highway work. These investigations had not gone far before I discovered that the people of New York are robbed every year of more than six millions of dollars by crooked politicians, and crooked contractors, under this crooked system of graft called fifty-fifty.

Thought He Was Governor.

"When I was confronted with the proofs of these depredations on the pocketbooks

of the taxpayers I determined to prosecute the grafters, and to institute legal proceedings to recover from the contractors the money they had stolen. Mr. Murphy, and others, warned me not to do this. They told me if I went ahead, they would give me the fight of my life. When they found out I was going ahead, they first endeavored to bribe me, and when they found out I could not be bribed, they threatened me with all sorts of things, among them my removal from office. However, I was determined not to be bought, or bullied, and so far as the office I held went I told them frankly that if I could not be the Governor, and carry out my pledges to the people, I did not want to hold the office, and be a 'proxy' Governor. At first I thought I was the Governor, but Murphy said I had only been elected—that he was the Governor. Do you know I really was so unsophisticated that I had the belief that the people elected me to discharge the duties of the Executive Office—and not Murphy.

The Power of the Boss.

"The Boss demanded that I appoint the men he recommended; that I sign, or veto, the bills he approved, or disapproved; that I stop all investigations of graft, that I cease all prosecutions against the grafters; that I dismiss from the service of the State the men he did not like; and that I consult him in Delmonico's about every official act, and carry out, in Albany, his arrogant instructions. When I refused, he bluntly told me he would paralyze my administration through his control of the Legislature, the Courts, and the several Departments of the State—and then throw me out of the Governorship as a warning to others to 'obey' or be 'ousted.' Such is the power of the Boss. What shall we do about it?"

A voice: "Throw out the Boss!"

Mr. Sulzer: "Yes, that is the thing to do.

The Millstone.

"It seems that in New York Tammany candidates are only elected to office—but that the Boss is elected to power. It is this sinister system that I am fighting—and it is your fight. Just so long as Boss Murphy designates the candidates, just so long should defeat overwhelm his candidates. The decent Democrats of the City and the State must submit no longer to the vulgar dictation of Boss Murphy. Do not forget it is the Murphys! and the McCooeys! that make up the political millstone which carries down to defeat the hopes and the ambitions of every Democratic candidate who wears the stamp of their approval, and submits to the collar of their authority.

Elect Honest and Intelligent Officials.

"The general welfare of New York is the supreme duty of the hour. Those who administer in office its affairs should exercise every agency, at their command, to correct existing abuses; to enforce just government; to secure greater economies; to institute more efficiency; to remedy social injustice; to uproot political corruption; and to raise higher the standards of official integrity.

"Every citizen owes a duty to the commonweal. No matter how engrossed a man may be in his own affairs, he should, at least, be patriotic enough to do everything in his power to promote the general welfare by electing honest and intelligent men to office—men who are true, and fearless, and honest, and sincere—men who cannot be Bossed—men who will faithfully live up to their obligations; and men who will carry out, in letter and in spirit, their solemn pledges to the people.

Mr. Murphy's Mutton.

"Those allowed in his august presence say the Boss tells his cronies, in Delmon-

ico's, that New York City is his mutton. Those who know will tell you he looks on the City of New York, as Wallenstein looked, with envious eyes, on London—a splendid city to sack. Elect his candidate for Mayor, and the 'Chief' will do the sacking. In the last analysis that is all there is to this campaign. If the candidate of the Boss wins—the Boss, and his predatory confederates, will do the plundering. If you do not want your pockets picked, for the next four years, beat the Boss by voting against the wax figures of the Boss. It is the only way. The history of the past proves it beyond successful contradiction. The experience of the past is the best guide for the future. Tammany cannot change its stripes. The only thing Tammany fears is THE TRUTH.

What Watterson Says.

"Colonel Watterson tells the Country that the people of New York are incapable of self-government. Just as long as the Democrats permit Boss Murphy to rule the Democratic Organization with a rod of iron, and remove officials who dare to challenge his corrupt demands, the indictment written by the distinguished editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal will hold good. Do not forget that—and do not forget that the taxpayers must keep Murphy candidates out of office if they want to keep Murphy, and his crooked tools, out of power—for you know that no man can be a servile servant of Boss Murphy, and at the same time a faithful servant of the people. No man can serve two masters. The Democratic Organization, in New York City, does not deserve to win in this election, or in any future election, until it is honest, and efficient, and progressive—and free from the fears and the shackles of Boss Murphy—the Despot of Delmonico's.

Murphy the Power.

"Murphy drunk with the power of his Boss-ship, and blind with hate for all that is good, and true, and decent, is the architect of his own undoing. Murphy will be the worst beaten Boss, on election day, in the annals of American politics, and his defeat should sound the doom of his Dictatorship—a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Fought a Good Fight.

"I fought a good fight, against tremendous odds, for honest government; I kept the faith; I was true to my ideals, and to my official oath. I stood by the PEOPLE; I dared to defy the 'orders' of Boss Murphy; and I did it all in the face of threats of personal destruction. **HAD I BUT SERVED THE BOSS WITH HALF THE ZEAL I DID THE STATE THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO REMOVAL OF WILLIAM SULZER.**

Has No Regrets

"Looking back over it all, I am frank to say I have no regrets, as my conscience is clear and tells me truly that I have done no wrong—but my whole duty—fearlessly and honestly—day in and day out—to all the people of the State—as God gave me the light to see the right.

Justice the Concern of All.

"An injustice to one is the concern of all. If I am the victim of injustice to-day, who knows, but you may be the victim of injustice to-morrow.

A Victim of the System.

"There have been victims of injustice; victims of corrupt Bossism; victims of The

System; victims of Predatory Plutocracy; and victims of Invisible Government throughout all the centuries of the past. I am not the first; neither shall I be the last. History merely repeats itself. The greatest wrongs in the annals of man have been political wrongs done by politicians, under the forms of law. The greatest crimes in all the ages have been political crimes, committed by those who had the power, against the spirit of the times. The greatest blunders ever made in the history of the world have been judicial blunders; done in defiance of the sentiments of mankind; committed under the cloak of law; and proclaimed in the name of Justice. Truth forever on the scaffold; wrong forever on the throne, tells the story, and proves the assertion; and the groans of the martyrs for principle from every torturing rack; the stifled voices of the friends of freedom from every loathsome dungeon; the truths of advanced thinkers echoing from every cruel chamber of persecution; and the heroic forms of the myriad victims, looming large from the frightful flames of every fanatical stake, testify to it beyond successful contradiction."

Was Governor Sulzer Impeached?

The Court of Appeals Says No!

After Mr. Sulzer's illegal removal several eminent lawyers began legal proceedings to test the constitutionality of that infamous act. The case was argued in the Court of Appeals—the Court of last resort—in the State of New York; and that Court side-stepped the issue involved, and decided that Mr. Sulzer had vacated the Governorship by being elected a member of the legislature for the year 1914.

Here is the decision of the Court of Appeals:

NEW YORK COURT OF APPEALS.
The People of the State of New York
ex. rel. Wm. Sulzer—appellant.

By the Court:

"In disposing of this appeal it appears from the record that the appellant has accepted and exercised the duties of an incompatible office, to wit, the office of Member of Assembly, to which he was elected in November, 1913, and to which he qualified on January 7th, 1914, since which time he has continued to act as such. The acceptance of said office of Member of Assembly, under the law of the State of New York, vacated the office of Governor."

In view of the inconsistency, and the ludicrousness, of this decision, Mr. Sulzer's counsel made every effort to get the case into the Supreme Court of the United States, and only failed because it was held that the United States Supreme Court had no jurisdiction in the matter, notwithstanding it was intimated that Governor Sulzer's removal was illegal and unconstitutional.

Was Governor Sulzer impeached? The Court of Appeals tells us he **VACATED** the office!

Is there no wrong without a remedy?
It seems there is.

What do you think about it?

Col. Henry Watterson, in a Leading Editorial
in the Louisville Courier-Journal, Nov. 9,
1913, Says Governor Sulzer Was
Removed Because He Was
Loyal to the Public.

"That the people of New York are incapable of self-government has long been

the belief of observant and thoughtful on-lookers.

"Alack, the day! New York has no dignity to preserve. Its dignity was thrown to the dogs years ago. Not one of the rogues who voted Governor Sulzer out of office cares a hill o' beans about the honor of the State. The court which tried him was a mock court with a majority fore-sworn. Justice, patriotism, and truth fled to brutish beasts, leaving graft and grafters to fight over the loot and to aid one another in corrupt succession—the people looking on impotent and dazed.

"The opportunities for stealing are so ever-present and easy—the rewards of theft so enormous—the likelihood of punishment is so slight! We read of the Walpole regime in England with a kind of wonder. It was not a flea bite by comparison with the system of pillage which holds New York in a grip from which there seems no escape. Go where one may he encounters its agents and stumbles over its engineering. Scratch a politician, whatever label he wears, and you find a scamp. Things are every whit as bad as they were under Tweed. They were amateurs in those days. A part of their plan was to enjoy life. Wine, women and song had seats at their tables. Now they are professionals. Addition, division, and silence are ranged about the board where Fisk said 'the woodbine twineth.' No nonsense; just the firmhand, the cold stare, and, where need be the legend, 'dead men tell no tales.'

"Brave William Sulzer! What siren voice of honest government could have lured him to battle on the off side of a stream having no bridges, his line of retreat leading through the enemy's country right into the deadly ambuscades and yawning rifle pits of Tammany—Invisible Government—and Wall Street? The case against him was a 'frame-up.' Did he not know that Tam-

many was pollution, and Wall Street a house of prostitution? His efforts for honest government will plead for him. But just as they white-washed Stillwell, so they removed him—because he was loyal to the Public.”

Governor Sulzer Blocks Tammany Graft.

(From Editorial in New York World July 23, 1913.)

“Sulzer’s real offense was blocking Tammany’s access to millions of State money. That is the beginning and end of the vendetta that Murphy is waging against the Governor. The Boss is fighting for his graft, the Legislature is subservient to the Boss, and the business of the State is at a standstill.

“It is possible that the Government of the State of New York touched lower depths of degradation under Tweed than under Murphy, although we doubt it. In Tweed’s day there was a strong and virile public opinion that uncompromisingly resisted corruption at every step until the corruptionists were driven out. In Murphy’s day the struggle seems to be regarded with cynical indifference as a contest between the Boss, and the Governor.

“Poor old New York! Is it really fit for self-government, or it is fit only for government by contracts? Is Murphy right after all in the sordid view that he takes of the political morals of the people of this State?”

The Rev. Dr. Madison C. Peters, Tribute to Governor Sulzer.

The Rev. Dr. Madison C. Peters says: “Strange mixture of power and practicality, of fancy and fact; of zeal and enthusiasm; dreamer of big dreams, Wm. Sulzer cannot be ignored. You may hate him, or you

may love him; but be sure of one thing—you can never forget him. He is the most potent force for good in our country—the greatest reformer in America.”

A GREAT REFORM GOVERNOR.

**What Doctor Albert Shaw Says
of Mr. Sulzer.**

Mr. Sulzer's work for honest government discussed by Dr. Albert Shaw in the Review of Reviews, December, 1913.

A faithful reflection of public opinion in regard to Governor Sulzer, and his removal from office, is found in the December number of the Review of Reviews. This magazine, edited by Dr. Albert Shaw, presents every month an intelligent, non-partisan, and impartial review of recent history-making events which commends itself to discriminating readers who appreciate how the powers of invisible government distort current news in the columns of many of the daily newspapers.

Dr. Shaw in the Review of Reviews says:

“The election of William Sulzer to the legislature is not merely sensational; it is a political affair that is Revolutionary. Mr. Sulzer as Governor has rendered the State of New York an almost superlative service. The prospect for good government in the State is better now than it has been at any time for half a century—and this result is due to Sulzer. He had a chance, as Governor, to make a nominally good record for himself, and yet to avoid all serious trouble. Tammany would have allowed him to accomplish many things that could have borne the reform label. All that Tammany asked of him was not to investigate Graft too sharply, and to consult Mr. Murphy about appointments. In spite of all kinds of threats to disgrace him, Governor Sulzer

persisted in investigating corruption in the affairs of the State.

"The trumped up charges against the Governor were easily proven to be false. Judge Cullen, who presided over the court, held that Sulzer had done nothing for which he could be impeached. The scoundrels who were mixed up in the orgy of canal and road-building graft were so short-sighted as to suppose that if they removed the Governor they would discredit Mr. Sulzer's accusations against them. But this was the very opposite of what happened. Their removal of Mr. Sulzer focused the attention of the whole world upon their own iniquities. It aroused the entire State of New York to a sense of public danger and public duty.

"But never let us forget that Governor Sulzer, thrown out of his office by Tammany, will unquestionably go down in history, along with Tilden, as one of the great reform Governors of the State of New York, whose courage in defying the corrupt combinations of crooked politics and crooked business led to great progress in the long-suffering but noble cause of good government.


"The great size of Mr. Mitchel's plurality, in the Mayoralty campaign, was due to Mr. Sulzer's speeches in the campaign. The Fusion ticket only had a fighting chance to win. But it happened that Tammany's fight against Governor Sulzer had resulted in sensational exposures of the real reasons that had impelled the Tammany Ring to oust him. It was shown clearly that Sulzer had been impeached, not for his faults, but for his virtues. He had started out as Governor to expose the mismanagement of State departments and the robbery of the State by politicians and contractors in the expenditure of two or three hundred million dollars upon State canals, highways, prisons,

and so on. Mr. Sulzer in a series of wonderful speeches, of definite accusations, with an irresistible quality of carrying conviction, before great masses of people, made the issue so clear that no one was left in doubt—and Tammany was annihilated.

"Governor Sulzer, meanwhile, had been promptly named for the legislature as an Independent in the old Sixth Assembly District, and his meetings there were attended by countless thousands of sympathetic citizens who arose in passionate determination to vindicate an honest Governor against his corrupt traducers, and infamous opponents."

WHAT COMMISSIONER HENNESSY SAID:

"No one better than I knows that had Governor Sulzer agreed not to execute his oath of office he would be unchallenged in his place as the Executive, no matter what other bitterness might be displayed against his independence of boss control. His inflexible determination to go after all the looters of the taxpayers ended all relations with the Organization. Then the savagery of removal from office took life in the Delmonico Conference held by Charles F. Murphy. 'It's his life, or ours,' was the way they put it."—From the official report of Commissioner Jno. A. Hennessy.

 When you get through reading this pamphlet preserve it or pass it on. Do not throw it away. Someone else wants to read it.



